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THE FIRST ANNUAL NEW JERSEY HISTORCIAL CONFERENCE

By DR. RICHARD P. MCCORMICK,
President New Jersey Historical Society

PROGRAM

10:30-11:00—Registration.
11:00-12:30—Workshop Sessions.

Group A
"A Small Museum Program," Loring McMillen.
"Educational Projects," A. J. Wall, Jr.

Group B
"Genealogical Activities," Donald A. Sinclair.
"Library Problems," Miss Miriam V. Studley.

11:00-12:30—Lecture Session:
"Historical Old Burlington," Dr. Henry H. Bisbee.
"Burlington Friends in the American Revolution," Miss Lois V. Given.
"Religious Disturbances in West Jersey," Gordon Turner.

12:45-1:45—Luncheon.

2:00-3:30—General Session:
"Burlington's First Inhabitants," Dr. Dorothy Cross.
"New Jersey's Mint," Damon G. Douglas.
"The Future of Historical Activity in New Jersey," Dr. Richard P. McCormick.

3:30-5:30—Guided Tours of Burlington; Exhibits.

6:00-8:00—Dinner.

Folk Songs: Miss Anne Lutz.

Address: "Making Our Heritage Live," Dr. Clifford L. Lord, *Director, Wisconsin Historical Society.*

The first annual New Jersey Historical Conference, held June 23, 1951, in Burlington under the joint auspices of the Burlington County Historical Society and the New Jersey Historical Society, has now become a part of history. Intended to bring together historically minded citizens from all parts of the state for the exchange of ideas, mutual stimulation, and scholarly fellowship, the meeting fully accomplished its objectives. It was the general sentiment of those in attendance that such gatherings were worthwhile and that they should be held at least annually.

Local arrangements for the Conference were handled, and most ably handled, by Mrs. Aline K. Wolcott, President of the Burlington County Historical Society, and the efficient members of her local committee. The New Jersey Historical Society undertook to set up the program, handle the advance registrations, and provide for publicity coverage. The site of the Conference was the well appointed James Lawrence School in Burlington. With its spacious auditorium, comfortable dining hall, and adaptable meeting rooms, it was satisfactory in every respect.

The Conference got underway at eleven o'clock with over three hundred persons in attendance from twenty-five county and local historical societies. At the lecture session, an audience of more than two hundred gave their full attention to three papers on early West Jersey. Meanwhile, interested groups were engaged in two workshop sessions devoted to the technical phases of historical society work. In Group A, which discussed museum and educational projects, the potential activities of small societies in these two fields was fully explored by Mr. Loring McMillen and Mr. Alexander J. Wall. In the

discussion that followed, numerous questions testified to the worthwhileness of the workshop and brought forth many practical suggestions. It was the consensus of opinion that there must be further exchange of information and ideas among those engaged in museum and educational projects and more opportunities for joint consideration of mutual problems.

Those who attended Group B heard Mr. Donald A. Sinclair discuss the role of genealogical activities in local history societies. In his remarks he emphasized the necessity of restricting the scope of collections to the immediate area served by the society. Miss Miriam V. Studley indicated the variety of library materials that the local society should collect, including contemporary as well as early items.

Promptly at twelve forty-five luncheon was served by the competent ladies of the local Methodist Church, who managed to accommodate without difficulty the unexpectedly large crowd. After lunch, Mrs. Wolcott was presented with an orchid as a token of the esteem of her co-workers. The presidents of the several societies represented were then introduced.

At two o'clock the afternoon session began, under the capable chairmanship of Justice Howard Eastwood, who welcomed the group in the name of the City of Burlington. Following the three addresses, which the audience enjoyed in spite of the heat and humidity, announcement was made of the arrangements for the tours of Burlington's historic places. With two buses to convoy the group between main points, the tour was, perhaps, the highlight of the day. First stop for most was gracious old St. Mary's School, where refreshments were served. From there, the tourist had a choice of more than a dozen points of interest, outstanding among which were the office of the Council of Proprietors of the Western Division of New Jersey; the newly restored Revel House; the Burlington Library, oldest in the state in continuous service; St. Mary's Church; and by no means least of all, the Cooper House, headquarters of the Burlington County Historical Society.

Somewhat weary, but still full of enthusiasm, nearly two hundred conferees remained for the evening activities. After a traditional turkey dinner, the group returned to the auditorium for the final session. Miss Lutz's delightful folk ballads charmed the audience, and many tapping feet and swaying heads were detected among her auditors. Then Dr. Lord, director of the Wisconsin Historical Society—recently selected as the outstanding state society in the nation—provided the climax of the Conference with a stirring address, "Making Our Heritage Live." Shortly after half past eight, the Conference formally adjourned, but many lingered on to cement newly made acquaintanceships, to comment again on their enjoyment of the day's activities, or to pledge support for future Conferences. And for those who had labored to bring the event to pass, there was the satisfaction of a job well done and the dream of an even better Conference next year.

It is difficult to acknowledge the services of all those who worked so effectively behind the scenes. But Mrs. Elizabeth Warner, principal of the James Lawrence School, Mrs. Elsie Morton, in charge of the meals, Miss Hannah Severn, who supervised last minute registrations, Messrs. William, John and Joseph Zelley, whose map was of such assistance to the tourists, Major Charles McCray, the "transportation officer," Miss Florence Newbold, the gracious hostess at St. Mary's, the members of the Junior League of Mt. Holly, and the local Girl Scouts all earned the praise that rewarded their efforts. In Newark the burden was carried by the loyal staff of the New Jersey Historical Society.

HISTORICAL OLD BURLINGTON

By Dr. Henry H. Bisbee, Burlington

Editor's Note: Dr. Bisbee's interest in history, called forth by the wealth of material in Burlington, has developed beyond the stage of a hobby into a contribution of significance to the community. Born in Trenton, an optometrist by profession, a graduate of the School of Optometry at Penn State in 1928, Dr. Bisbee came to Burlington in 1929. He saw the possibilities in the restoration of old landmarks, and with outstanding energy and leadership he organized the Colonial Burlington Foundation, as an incorporated society for the preservation of historical monuments and buildings. The renovation of the Revell House in Burlington, completed in 1950, is one of the highly successful ventures of the society, enlisting the assistance of a number of local clubs and organizations in the work. The magazine "Antiques" for June, 1951, carries an illustrated article on the subject.

Among other purchasers of West Jersey lands, says Samuel Smith, in his *"History of New Jersey,"* were two companies, made up of Friends from Yorkshire and Friends from London, who contracted for considerable shares for which they obtained patents. They left England in the Summer of 1677. With them were Commissioners appointed by the shareholders who were known as Proprietors. On the 16th of August they arrived off New Castle and soon after landed on the Jersey shore at Raccoon Creek, where lived a few Swedes. The Commissioners negotiated with the Indians and made three separate purchases of land: from Timber Creek to the Rancocas, from Oldman's Creek to Timber Creek, and from the Rancocas to the Assunpink at the Falls of the Delaware.

The Yorkshire Commissioners chose the tract between the Rancocas and the Falls, and this was called the first tenth. The London group chose below Timber Creek, which was called the second tenth. However the Yorkshire people, upon learning that the Londoners planned to settle at a great distance from them suggested that the two groups unite in building a town. The Commissioners had been upriver to Chigoes Island to negotiate with the Indians, and it was here that the two groups decided to found a town. This being entirely in the first tenth, the Yorkshire people agreed that the Londoners should have the larger portion in the town as the Yorkshire-

men would have the better land in the woods. Thus, right at the beginning, this city began on a peaceful note so typical of all Quaker dealings.

It was agreed that Richard Nobel, surveyor, should lay out the town. This he did in the fall of 1687. High Street, sixty feet wide, running due north and south, cut the island in half. The Broad Street, fully 100 feet wide, ran at right angles down the center of the island. The Friends from London chose the right side of High and the Yorkshiremen the east.

We usually think of our pioneer settlers enduring great hardships. Perhaps this was in New England, but not here at Burlington. It is questionable whether any of the women remained at Burlington during the winter of 1677. They probably stayed at Raccoon Creek. However, we are told that, altho the winter was rather severe, the pioneers subsisted upon Indian corn and venison supplied by the friendly Indians. No comment of extreme hardship was recorded.

In an account written years later, Daniel Wills describes his arrival at Burlington in the fall of 1677. He was a small boy at the time and tells of coming up river in small boats. Quote "So brought up servants, also the two John Woolstons, Samuel Clift and his wife and son came with us. I remember we had a north east storm for 48 hours, about the middle of it we came to the landing. And when ashore the first thing to be done was to draw lots to find which of the ten lots was my fathers. So my father wrote down nine of the Proprietors names on bits of paper and rowled them up, for the tenth one he did not know. But he rowled up a blank for it and put them in a hat covered, and caused an unconcerned person to draw them out. So the blank lot came out first, which was next to the river, and in two months time after the Person arrived and produced his right to it, which was Thomas Budd 1st.

"This being done we took our packages through the woods we went to find the third lot. When we arrived, all in the rain, we set up some forks, and poles upon them, and covered our tents with blankets, but all that did but little good, for it

rained through upon us all night. So that betwixt the rain, and smoke of our fire, and wet clothes, we were very much benumed."

In December, 1678, the ship "Shield" landed at Burlington with over 100 passengers. This was the first ship to come so far up river. Smith tells us that she moored to a tree and the next morning her passengers came ashore on the ice.

Apparently these first settlers of Burlington liked what they found here. Daniel Wills in writing to friends in England said, "I know not one among the people that desires to be in England again for they are far better off than their Yorkshire people who have nothing at the year's end where here they might know better things. Burlington will be a place of trade quickly for the last winter 1679 I with eight others brought a ketch of fifty tons to trade from and to the Barbadoes and now lies before Burlington discharging her laden cargo to be freighted out with our own corn".

So two years after its founding Burlington has become a port.

In 1681 by an act of the Assembly, "all vessels bound to the Province were obliged to enter and clear at its chief town and head, the "Port of Burlington".

Two market houses had been built in 1691 and fairs were held semiannually, under authority granted by the Legislature. An idea of the importance that these fairs held with the people may be gathered from a record in the minutes of the Friends Meeting of August 4, 1697, when it was ordered, "that our next monthly meeting be deferred one week longer than the usual day because the fair falling on that Day the meeting should be." Nearly all the yearly trading was done at these fairs, and this action by the Quakers was not to furnish fun and frivolity but in the interest of good business.

It is interesting to note that when the village of Philadelphia decided to build a town hall they came to Burlington to copy ours. Later, this same community borrowed our plans to build their first town wharf!

In the 1690's Burlington had progressed to such an extent that several paragraphs were devoted to the city in Gabriel Thomas' *"History"*, printed in 1698. Read one paragraph.

"Burlington is now the chieftest Town in that Country, by reason that the late Gov. Cox . . . encouraged and promoted that Town chiefly, in settling his agents and Deputy Governors there, which brings their Assemblies and chief Courts to be kept there; and by that means it is become a very famous town, having a delicate great Market-House where they keep their market. It hath a noble and spacious Hall overhead, where their sessions are kept, having the Prison adjoyning to it. There are many Fair and Great Brick Houses on the outside of the Town which the Gentry have built there for their countrey Houses, besides the Great and Stately Palace of John Tatham Esq; which is pleasantly situated on the north side of the town, having a very fine and delightful Garden and Orchard adjoyning to it. There are also kept in this famous Town several Fairs every year; as for provisions, bread, beer, beef, pork, cheese, butter and most fruits here is great plenty and very cheap. There are also two hansom bridges to come in and out of the town called Lond and York-bridges. The town stands on an island, the tide flowing quite around about it."

We get a glimpse of the type of dwelling that was the first constructed here from a description of two Dutch travelers who visited Burlington in 1679, Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter. Their description fits the crude log cabin so familiar to most frontiers. "Block houses, nothing else than square trees . . . The most careful people plank the ceiling and have a glass window." However we find that brick dwellings were being erected at least seven years after the settlement of the town. George Hutchinson built a one story building on East Pearl Street in 1685. It was the office of T. Revell from 1689 to 1699. Revell was the first clerk of the General Assembly.

The government of the Province of West Jersey, with this city as its Capitol, was proprietory in character. Prior to 1680, the Province was governed by Quaker Magistrates under the

Duke of York's government at New York. Originally it had been intended that it should be governed by a constitution written in 1676 called the Concessions and Agreements. This document, altho never fully carried out, was the guiding spirit behind the new government. On the 25th of November, 1681, our first deputy governor, Governor Jennings, convened the first Assembly, here at Burlington. This body enacted certain fundamental constitutions following the spirit of the Concessions.

I have arbitrarily pictured for you, rather briefly I realize, the first 20 odd years of this town's existence, perhaps because it intrigues me more than later times. I think it is safe for me to state that in this period Burlington was unique in this country. It was the first successful Quaker settlement in this country, outdating Philadelphia by a few years. It's government was almost a democracy in the sense that we use the term today. When the government was surrendered to the Crown in 1702, this city lost most of that democratic flavor. It simply reverted to another town in a crown colony similar to other towns in other crown colonies. The town continued to be the seat of government, sharing that honor with Perth Amboy in East Jersey. The governors continued to live here. The Church of England, in the form of our famous St. Mary's, became established, famous personages lived here or visited with us. The town was still important in the Province. But with the passing of the Proprietary Government the spirit of the Concessions was lost, not to manifest itself until 1776.

I would like to tell you about several of Burlington's most cherished possessions, that you will not see by walking about the city. One is a document, which you will see briefly, and the other two are probably the two oldest incorporated bodies in this country still in existence and still doing business. I will not give them in chronological order.

Five hundred feet off shore in the Delaware lies Matinicunk Island. This island, altho uninhabited except for summer campers, has played an important role in Burlington's history. In September, 1682, the Assembly made a grant of this island

to the town that its revenues might be applied to maintaining a free school. I think we may consider this one of the first foundations for a public school in America. There has been many a legal quarrel over this island, by the Crown, by William Penn, and even down to several decades ago. A board was created that is now incorporated under the name, "Managers and Treasurer of the Fund for the education of the Youth in the City of Burlington". This Corporation, which has met more or less regularly since 1727, has with the money derived from ground rents helped to build every school within the city with the exception of this newest one. The members of this board are elected by ballot at a special town meeting each year.

Just as the clock struck twelve on April 10th of this year, at High and Broad, a group of men met for the 263rd annual meeting of the West Jersey Proprietors. This ancient body, consisting of people owning proprietary shares or portions of shares, some through direct inheritance and others through acquisition, meet yearly to elect five members to represent Burlington County at the Council of Proprietors. This group is probably the most ancient of incorporated bodies in America. The Council dates from 1687 when the Assembly decided not to be bothered with Proprietary matters and requested the Proprietors to "choose a convenient number of members to transact their own business". This group is at the disposal of any person desiring information about surveys or deeds of land in West Jersey. All the original deeds and surveys are in safe keeping at the Surveyor General's Office.

In a vault, less than four blocks from this room in the Surveyor General's office is the original document that was intended to be the basis of government for West Jersey. It is called the Concessions and Agreements. Here in this inspiring document you will find democracy at its highest level. Chapter 16 reads in part . . . "that no Men nor number of Men upon Earth hath Power or Authority to rule over men's consciences in religious matters . . . "

Chapter 17 . . . "that no Proprietor Freeholder or Inhabitant shall be deprived or condemned of Life Limb Liberty Estate

Property or any ways hurt in his or their Privileges . . . without a due tryall". How similar are these two passages to our own Bill of Rights! Yet this Burlington document was penned in the 17th century and our Constitution not for a century later.

This document, my friends, altho belonging to all of West Jersey, is the foremost treasure that I present to you from Burlington. As students of history, most of us know about this document. But methods of teaching history in Jersey secondary schools must surely be questioned when no mention is made of this early Jersey Constitution.

In this very city where this document is kept, no teacher has ever mentioned to his students the existence of the Concessions. Yet these pupils study the Mayflower Compact. I cannot imagine a Freedom Train traveling across this country without this great document aboard. Yet that is what happened several years ago.

For the past several years, through talks and any type of publicity I could get, I have endeavored to get this constitution better known in this section. And so you can see that I could not miss this opportunity to bring it to your attention today, you people from all over our state. And not only our state but the whole country should know about the Concessions.

There is something about us Jerseyites, perhaps it is inherited from our Quaker ancestry, that causes us to be reticent about our past history. If the State of Massachusetts possessed this great document, it would stand side by side with the famed Mayflower Compact. I hope that you will see this constitution this afternoon. And if you read it you will feel as I do, that one hundred years before our American Revolution, we had a brief taste of democracy here at Burlington, the Colonial Capitol of West Jersey.

BURLINGTON COUNTY FRIENDS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By Lois V. Given, *The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*

Editor's Note: Miss Given, a native of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, has lived in Moorestown, New Jersey, since 1931. She graduated from Wilson College, took her Master's degree in American history at the University of Pennsylvania in 1944, and has been with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania since June, 1947. She is now serving as Assistant Editor of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.*

War means restrictions. War means taxes. War means sufferings. This is an old story which was as true during the American Revolution as it is today. It strikes an almost modern note when a good wife of Burlington, Margaret Morris, introduced her diary to the new year of 1777 with the following doleful observation: "This New Years day has not been usherd in with the usual Cerimonies of rejoiceing &c, & indeed I believe it will be the beginning of a sorrowful Year to very many People . . . "[1] Little did she know how sadly her prophecy was to be fulfilled that year, nor how many more years of sorrow were to follow. Nine months later, John Hunt, Quaker preacher of Evesham, reiterated her fears, when he noted in his diary: "At this time there was very Great Commotions by Reason of the Struggling of the powers of the Earth."[2]

The American colonies of Great Britain were in revolt, and it is with considerable insight that New Jersey has been called the "cockpit of the Revolution."[3] The strategic positions of New York and Philadelphia controlled the fortunes of the state in war, even as they did in times of peace. Harried by the successive advances and retreats of both armies in their efforts to occupy these two pivotal cities, the state for two

[1]John W. Jackson, *Margaret Morris: Her Journal with Biographical Sketch and Notes* (Philadelphia, 1949), 60; hereafter cited as *Morris Journal.* The original of this journal is in the Quaker Collection at the Haverford College Library.

[2]"John Hunt's Diary," *Proceedings of The New Jersey Historical Society,* New Series, LII (1934), 227; hereafter cited as *Hunt Diary.*

[3]Leonard Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution. The War for Independence in New Jersey* (Princeton, 1940).

years endured severe trials under the ravages of the British and Hessians, and in the course of the guerilla warfare of the American soldiers.

Although it suffered no major military engagement, like the battles of Princeton and Monmouth, Burlington County was faced with all the distress of war. There were problems of occupation, frequent minor engagements and skirmishes, the depredations of deserters, of loyalist refugees, and raiding parties, the annoyances of impressment, constant recruiting, and requisitioning of supplies of all kinds. There were also the problems of taxes and fines, numerous and varied governmental restrictions, and oaths, of high prices and a spiraling cost of living, and of a rapidly depreciating currency. All of these factors were particularly acute in Burlington County because of its predominantly Quaker population.

Traditionally opposed to war and all its correlaries, the Quakers were in conscience unable to comply either with the war directives or with their prescribed alternatives.[4] Even in 1774, the revolutionary trend of events had become a real concern to the Society of Friends. The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and the Burlington Quarterly Meeting circulated recommendations urging strict adherence to the Sixth Query of their discipline which related to wartime activities and the taking of oaths.[5] Friends have always paid careful attention to this latter tenet of their discipline. Their refusal to hold any office relating to the war effort absolved many Quakers from the

[4]For regulations covering all phases of the Quaker attitude toward warlike activities, see *Rules of Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, Delaware, and the Eastern Parts of Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1834), 143-146.

[5]Minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (1774), 309, 363; Minutes of Burlington Quarterly Meeting (1774), 29-30; (1775), 36. The Sixth Query was asked regularly at all the monthly meetings during the period: "Do you maintain a faithful Testimony against taking or administering oaths, the payment of Priests wages or Church rates so called, bearing of arms Training or Militia Service, and Against defrauding the King of his dutys, or Buying, or vending goods unlawfully Imported, or prize Goods, and against being concerned in lotteries of any kind." Minutes of Mount Holly Monthly Meeting (1776), 2. The meeting minutes, 1774-1784, used in this paper are to be found in the archives at the Friends Book Store, 302 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.

necessity of taking the oaths required for civil and military positions. But the act of 1777 passed by the New Jersey Congress, obliging all male inhabitants to take the "test oath" to the revolutionary government, was cited by the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings as a law which "Strikes at Our Religious Testimony, & by which it is very likely great Sufferings will be brought upon Friends."[6] The attention paid to this problem by the meetings and its prominence among the reasons for disownment reveal that there were many who violated Quaker discipline by taking the oath. Each year, as the opportunities for offending the discipline multiplied, the meetings increased their watchfulness and warnings.

The charge that Quakers were largely Tory in sympathy is an understandable one. Their all-inclusive neutrality or pacifism was a severe deterrent to the efforts of the Continental forces and was everywhere branded as loyalism. More serious, perhaps, was the political position of the Friends who were loathe to cast off a government which in the New World had guaranteed them religious freedom. The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting sent out exhortations to discourage all attempts to excite disaffection toward the King, reminding Friends of their many obligations to him.[7] As early as 1774, such pronouncements were considered treasonable by the growing body of Patriots. Subsequent statements by Quaker meetings to this same end, and the flow of epistles from the London Yearly Meeting, urging conciliation, gave constant support to the Quaker attitude.[8] Then, too, the Quakers shared the conservative views held generally by the merchant and landed classes. Actually, it is difficult to distinguish between Toryism and neutrality. Although there are some instances of active loyalism, the general noncombatant stand of the Quakers seems the more valid explanation of the apathy toward the revolutionary movement found in Burlington County.

[6]Minutes of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings (1777), 123-124.
[7]Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (1774), 367; (1776), 14.
[8]Margaret Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War* (New York, 1923), 200-201, 202.

Mistress Margaret Morris, living at Green Bank, the former home of Governor William Franklin in Burlington, best illustrates this confused position. An active and proud woman, her journal records vividly and humanly the details of a town occupied in turn by British, Hessian, and American troops. Her bitter comments on the American "gondolas" in the Delaware, her denunciations of the American "tory-baiters," her efforts to secure the escape of Jonathan Odell, noted Anglican clergyman and Tory satirist, have all labeled her as a Tory. On the other hand, these instances can be offset by her ministrations to ill sailors from those same gondolas, her acceptance of supplies from Americans grateful for her assistance, and her concern for the ragged condition of "our men," meaning the American troops. Her Quakerly anxiety for a group of American soldiers quartered next door caused her to melt with compassion to . . . "see such anumber of my fellow Creatures lying like Swine on the floor, fast asleep, & many of them without even aBlanket to cover them. . . . "[9] On another occasion a grateful Continental soldier wrote of her that "the good woman next Door Sent us 2 Mince pies last Night, which I took very kind. May God bless all our friends and Benefactors."[10] That Margaret Morris may have been somewhat of an opportunist in her comments on each military occupation, is suggested by this entry from her journal in December, 1776: " . . . before we retired to bed this Evening, an attempt was made to teach the Children to pronounce 'Vicates' [wie geht's] like a Dutch Man."[11] The Hessians under Colonel Von Donop were approaching Burlington.

Friend or foe, there were more pressing problems which the Burlington Quakers had to face. Among the most painful were those which struck at the very heart of their religion. Believing that formal worship was unnecessary in man's relationship to his God, and mindful of injunctions not to partici-

[9] *Morris Journal,* 61. For general references, see *ibid., passim.*
[10] "Journal of Sergeant William Young," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (PMHB),* VIII (1884), 259-260. Margaret Morris also mentions this incident. *Morris Journal,* 60.
[11] *Ibid.,* 54.

pate in the observances of public feast, fast, or holy days, the public proclamations of Governor William Livingston presented a trial for the conscience.[12] Generally declared twice a year from 1779 through 1782,[13] these proclamations, issued on the resolution of the Continental Congress, provided for a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, a day on which there was to be neither labor nor recreation. In Philadelphia Friends' homes were attacked and windows broken when they opened their shops on these days;[14] it is entirely possible that Burlington Quakers faced a similar experience.

More aggravating still was the damage done to Quaker meeting houses and the interruption of worship by military occupation. Frequent mention is made of the fact that meetings had to be held in private homes when meeting houses were commandeered by the armies. At Mount Holly, in 1776, the British used the meeting house as a stable for the officers' horses, and at another time as a commissary and barracks for the troops.[15] The meeting house at Little Egg Harbor was used in the defense of the frontiers of the state in 1782, when a company of Burlington militia under Captain Jacob Cooper was stationed there.[16] The Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings received a report in 1784 which read, "one Room in the Meeting House at Burlington, with the Chamber above, was forcibly possessed by the Soldiery for about 35 days, and used for a Hospital & Storehouse; although upon Application the Room was 'given up to Friends on Meeting Day.'"[17] Of all the accounts of John Hunt on this matter, one of the most vivid

[12]*Rules of Discipline,* 41.

[13]See *New Jersey Gazette* for these years.

[14]James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America* (London, 1854), II, 308.

[15]George DeCou, *Historical Sketches of Mount Holly and Vicinity* (reprinted from *Mt. Holly Herald,* 1936), 1; E. M. Woodward and J. F. Hageman, *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties* (Philadelphia, 1883), 175.

[16]*New Jersey Gazette,* Jan. 16, 1782. During the Revolutionary period, Little Egg Harbor was in Burlington County. It was the principal center of privateering in New Jersey, and among the most important in the Colonies. Lundin, 112. It is not inconceivable that Friends in this area faced some inconvenience and hardship as a result of this activity.

[17]Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings (1784), 466.

is the one which reports that " . . . a company of most Distressed Creatures lodged in our Meeting house the Night before and they were so Distempered that the House Smelt So Bad we Could not bear it it was Littered and Dirtyed So that it was almost Like a Stable. . . . "[18]

Difficult as these problems were to face, there were others which went beyond the interests of a special group. Not the least of these was the problem of recruiting. With the outbreak of the war in 1775, a New Jersey act was passed to enlist twenty-one regiments and nine battalions. Of these, Burlington County was to raise two regiments and a company of rangers. The strength of the Quakers in the county was apparently overlooked, for such units would require 1,360 men, and the deduction of the Quakers from the 2,632 men of military age left less than 600 prospects available for the militia.[19] Nevertheless, recruiting officers were constantly active, and during the crucial years of the war in New Jersey generally bewailed the indifference of the county, attributing it largely to Quaker pacifism. The belief, or rather the hope, of General Nathaniel Greene and of Thomas Rodney that British brutality would arouse even the Quakers to arms proved rather fruitless optimism.[20] Later, Generals Forman and Varnum met with the same lack of success and for the same reasons.[21] It is interesting to note, however, that Washington in his recruiting orders of 1777 recognized and respected those who were "conscientiously scrupulous" against military service.[22]

The British also sent out recruiting parties, with full expectation of success, for Howe, like so many others, mistook

[18]*Hunt Diary,* 193.

[19]Cornelius C. Vermeule, "Service of the New Jersey Militia in the Revolutionary War," *Proceedings of The New Jersey Historical Society, New Series,* IX (1924), 235.

[20]Peter Force, *American Archives, Fifth Series* (Washington, 1848-1853), III, 1342, 1487.

[21]Lundin, 353-354. Gov. Livingston also commented on the recruiting problem in a letter to Washington (1777), in which he wrote that the men of Burlington County were "exceedingly dilatory in their motions." *Ibid.,* 243.

[22]John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington . . . 1745-1799* (Washington, 1931,1940), VII, 35, 79.

Quaker pacifism for loyalty to the Crown. Although he too found little to encourage his recruiting efforts, he did find some Friends who were not reluctant to make a little money selling provisions to British-occupied Philadelphia.[23]

If the Friends presented a united front to the military authorities, they had a constant problem of keeping impetuous youth in line with their discipline. Some were steadfast in refusing to "participate in warlike activities," but others deserted their testimony. Some were disowned, while others repented or acknowledged their digressions and were reinstated in the Society.

Many of the early disownments were the result of military service, but as the war was carried beyond the borders of New Jersey, the variety of charges cited by the meetings reflects the difficulties under which the Quakers tried to pursue their normal pattern of living. In 1782 the Evesham Meeting refused the acknowledgment of Anthony Allen and disowned him for having struck with a stick a man who had seized his goods.[24] Samuel Lippincott was disowned from the Mount Holly Meeting in the same year for paying money to exempt his sons from service.[25] In 1783 Samuel Bellangee of Evesham was disowned for having taken the test oath because of a "slavish fear of suffering imprisonment";[26] and the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting a year later disowned George Clayton for appearing in military dress, "in a warlike manner by way of deception."[27] From Burlington Monthly Meeting comes the surprising record of one Thomas Rogers, who in 1780, despite the length of charges against him, had his paper of acknowledgment accepted because of his earnest desire for reconciliation to the Society. Not only had Rogers taken the test, but he had hired a man to go into service in his stead, had received consideration for the time of an apprentice who had enlisted as a soldier, and had bought a gun which he gave in

[23]Lundin, 374.
[24]Minutes of Evesham Monthly Meeting (1782), 526-527.
[25]Mount Holly Monthly Meeting (1782), 136.
[26]Evesham Monthly Meeting (1783), 1.
[27]Minutes of Chesterfield Monthly Meeting (1784), 614.

exchange for one which the authorities had taken from him.[28]

Langston Carlisle was reported in 1776 to the Burlington Monthly Meeting for having "associated to learn the art of war." He refused all efforts to bring him under testimony again, and was consequently disowned.[29] In May, 1778, Captain Carlisle's company of the First Regiment of Burlington County was ordered to Burlington to oppose Howe's foraging expeditions on the Delaware,[30] and in November, 1780, the notice of Carlisle's death appeared in the *New Jersey Gazette*.[31]

Like Carlisle, most of the Burlington Quakers who joined the army probably went with the American forces. The meeting minutes rarely specify. There may have been others, but only three, residents of Monmouth County but members of the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, were disowned specifically for enlisting in the British Army.[32] Of the 296 Friends who were brought before the meetings on many charges between 1774 and 1784, 213 were disowned.[33] It is almost impossible to find population statistics for New Jersey during the Revolution, but on the basis of sparse census figures which do exist for the state and calculations based on the county's militia prospects mentioned earlier, one can estimate that there were approximately 7,500 Quakers in Burlington County in this period.[34] If these figures are reasonably accurate, only between

[28]Minutes of Burlington Monthly Meeting (1780), 229.
[29]*Ibid.* (1776), 141, 145.
[30]*Morris Journal*, 107.
[31]*New Jersey Gazette*, Nov. 29, 1780.
[32]The Chesterfield Monthly Meeting ([1777], 422, 423) cites Anthony and John Woodward and Jesse Waln as joining the British Army. These meeting minutes include numerous disownments of Monmouth County residents, since the meeting was located at Crosswicks near the county line.
[33]These figures are tabulated from the various meeting minutes.

Meeting	*Brought up for disownment*	*Disowned*
Burlington	40	35
Chesterfield	102	78
Evesham	114	68
Mount Holly	43	32
	299	213

[34]Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932), 109-113.

two and three per cent of its membership was disowned by the Friends for participating in the war.

The paying of taxes and fines were among the most prominent of the reasons for disownment. Wars are costly, and the American Revolution was no exception. Each state was obliged to pay for its own share of the struggle. State taxation and the many fines which were set up as a penalty for noncompliance with regulations and requisitions were the principal means of raising the necessary funds. To the Quaker the payment of taxes constituted direct assistance in violence, and the payment of fines was o contrary to their beliefs as the act for which the fine was substituted. In 1776 the Yearly Meeting declared that it was inconsistent with the Quaker faith to pay "either openly or by connivance, any fine, penalty or tax in lieu of personal services," or to permit children, apprentices, or servants to do so.[35] The Rules of Discipline for the same year declared " . . . that a tax, levied for the purchasing of drums, colours, or for other warlike uses, cannot be paid consistently with our Christian testimony."[36] These latter taxes, of course, were small, but the amount did not enter into the consideration of the Quakers.

The burden of state taxes was apportioned among the counties and was paid generally in currency, occasionally in kind. As the war progressed, the tax levies became more numerous and more varied, and the sufferings of the Friends increased in proportion. This was particularly true when the taxes were based on property assessment. In Burlington County the Quakers were well-to-do and most of their wealth lay in lands and prosperous farms. Property taxes struck directly at their well-being. Although there were many tax levies issued, one will serve as an example. In July, 1781, an act was passed for the raising of money and supplies for the state and army by assessments on all phases of professional and industrial life, and by taxes on land and all personal property—horses, coaches, wagons, clocks and watches, silver plate, cattle, and so forth.

[35]Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (1776), 356.
[36]*Rules of Discipline,* 144.

The payment was to be made in two installments with penalties listed for concealment or the refusing of information to the authorities. Payment in kind was permitted, and appeals were allowed only after the taxes had been paid.[37] A 1784 estimate on the rateables in Burlington County, covering virtually all the items specified in this act, placed the value of property holdings in the county at £140,019..15.[38] In view of their position in the county and their refusal to pay the taxes, which resulted in the forceable seizure of their property, the distress these acts caused the Quakers is readily imagined.

Many Friends expressed religious objection to the use of paper bills of credit issued by the state. John Hunt in 1779 noted that Warner Mifling [Mifflin?] of the Evesham Meeting "bore a very full plain Clear & Lively Testimon Against friends takeing Congress-Money, which Some Could hardly bear with."[39] The Yearly Meeting compromised the issue by declaring that Friends not convinced of their duty to refuse these bills should "watch their own Spirits," and that those who had scruples against Continental money should not censure in their minds those who had not.[40] Fundamental economic considerations may partially explain this evasive answer, for the value of paper money was falling steadily. The question of paper currency became serious, however, when fines were laid which had to be paid in proclamation money. In 1776 such a fine was levied for all who refused to bear arms,[41] and fines were prescribed also for failure to attend general musters and reviews,[42] and for persons refusing "to take up arms and turn out to support their visionary state fabric."[43] Even though the payment of fines was forbidden to the Quakers, this cur-

[37]*New Jersey Gazette,* July 4, 1781.
[38]*Ibid,* Dec. 6, 1784.
[39]*Hunt Diary,* 235.
[40]Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (1775), 329.
[41]*New Jersey Archives, Second Series,* I, 163-164.
[42]This fine, with its proclamation money requirement, was directed specifically toward those who were restrained from attendance "on account of adherence to a particular religious society." Francis B. Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State* (New York, 1902), II. 112.
[43]*New Jersey Archives, Second Series,* I, 517.

rency requirement would seem to add insult to injury. Quaker refusal of the Continental currency was sufficiently widespread to cause General Greene to consider it an "effrontery," and to predict popular resentment towards the Friends for their attitude.[44]

Goods were distrained not only from those who were unwilling to pay taxes, but also from those who were unwilling to meet the many requisitions of supplies. The need of supplies of all types by the Continental troops was great, not only for such staples as food, wagons, horses, and fodder, but for such articles as blankets, which, by order of the government, were to be impressed. A quota was assigned to each county, and prices were fixed for the articles.[45] Because lead was so desperately needed, on July 16, 1776, Governor Livingston directed an order to township committees in the State to collect all leaden weights from windows and clocks, from shops, stores, and mills.[46] It is probable that Burlington County experienced such a collection, for it is reported that the leaded windows of the Little Egg Harbor meeting house, brought from England in 1709, were hidden in the ceiling to prevent their use for the making of musket balls.[47] Wagons and horses were always needed for many army uses, and were impressed from Quakers at their meeting houses as well as from their farms. John Hunt frequently mentions the "pressing" of horses and wagons at the Evesham Meeting.[48] The Quakers were a thrifty lot and losses brought about by the confiscation of their possessions came hard to them.

Closely allied to the impressing of supplies was the more routine requisitioning of provisions for the troops. The Yearly

[44]*American Archives, Fifth Series,* III, 1342.

[45]Peter Wilson, *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey, 1776-1783* (Trenton, 1784), 32.

[46]*American Archives, Fifth Series,* I, 369. A day later, July 17, the Philadelphia Committee of Safety requested families of that city to give up their leaden window and clock weights, assuring them that iron weights would shortly be supplied as substitutes. *Ibid.,* 1296.

[47]Leah Blackman, "History of Little Egg Harbor Township, Burlington County, N.J.," *Proceedings . . . of the Surveyors' Association of West New Jersey* (Camden, N.J., 1880), 194-195.

[48]*Hunt Diary,* 227, 228, 229.

Meeting had cautioned Friends in 1779 that there was to be no assistance to the war effort through the grinding of grain, feeding of cattle, or the selling of property for money.[49] Refusal to comply with the requisition orders frequently resulted in the commandeering of goods or in the destruction of supply stocks by the soldiers.

Not only during the ebb and flow of the British and American troops within the state, but also during the period of their encampment in the Philadelphia area, Burlington County became simultaneously a major source of supplies for both armies. Each made its requisitions and established its schedule of prices. In 1776 a circular was sent out by Thomas Gamble, Quartermaster to His Majesty's forces, listing the prices in gold and silver to be paid to those who brought in hay, cereal grains, flour and bran, pork and beef. Within the month, a letter was sent from Bordentown, where the circular had been printed, to the Hessian officer Von Donop at Mount Holly, stating that the inhabitants of the region had begun to bring in supplies and that the British magazines were filling to such an extent that foraging for supplies seemed unnecessary.[50] There may have been Quakers who brought in some of these provisions to the British quartermaster, attracted, in view of the depreciating Continental currency, by the payments in gold and silver.

General Washington, also, was in dire need of supplies, and there are frequent notices in the *New Jersey Gazette* of his orders for provisions. In January, 1778, an order was issued for all persons living within a radius of seventy miles of Valley Forge to thresh a specified amount of grain for the army. Those refusing the order were to have their grain seized in the sheaves and paid for as straw.[51] In 1780 Burlington County was ordered to supply Washington within eight days 250 cattle and 1,500 bushels of grain.[52] A year laer, the New

[49]Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (1779), 444.
[50]William S. Stryker, *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton* (Boston, 1898), 343-344.
[51]*New Jersey Gazette,* Jan. 7, 1778.
[52]*Writings of Washington,* XVII, 364 (note).

Jersey legislature was informed that Washington needed meat, and the counties were notified of their apportionments of the beef cattle or sheep to be supplied. Burlington County's share was the second largest in the state, some 21,000 pounds of beef or mutton.[53] Since the Quakers were unable to comply with these orders, their goods were seized and their losses ran up into thousands of pounds.

All these sufferings the Quakers reported to the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings in great detail. In 1778 the Burlington Monthly Meeting reported losses in household goods and other effects, seized from its members for refusing to muster with the militia and to pay a gunpowder tax.[54] A year later the same meeting reported that there were "Taken from 21 Friends for not going out as Soldiers or paying for Substitutes in 1777 & 1778, 61 Horses, 32 horned Cattle, Corn, Household Furniture, Utensils for Farming, etc—the fines demanded being £578..7..6 & the value distrained £378..1..10."[55] It is interesting that the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting sent in a similar account of sufferings for the same years which amounted to within a few pounds of the same amount.[56] Many more such incidents might be given.

But worse yet, there were the personal sufferings endured. In several cases Friends were committed to jail for their failure to meet taxes and requisition orders. In 1777 John Hunt records that six of his neighbors were sent to the Burlington jail for refusing to sign or associate with the soldiers.[57] In the same year the Burlington Monthly Meeting recorded that John Elton, James Craft, and Isaac Pearson Rodman were taken from their homes to Bordentown for refusing to bear arms and were detained there for about ten days.[58] And in 1781 the Evesham Monthly Meeting reported that Abraham Worinton

[53]*New Jersey Gazette,* July 11, 1781.
[54]Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings (1778), 179.
[55]*Ibid.* (1779), 218.
[56]*Ibid.*
[57]*Hunt Diary,* 224-225.
[58]Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings (1779), 218.

[Warrington?] had been confined in the "common gaol" of the county for not paying his taxes.[59]

There were still other measures which unquestionably increased the sufferings of the Quakers. One of these had to do with the matter of passports for travel in and out of the state. Being noncombatant in thought as well as action, the Quakers naturally assumed the right to travel wherever they wished, particularly across the Delaware to Philadelphia where they had so many family connections and where so much of their religious activity centered. Considerable concern was expressed by Friends during the British occupation of Philadelphia when representatives from the Burlington Quarterly Meeting were prevented from crossing the river to attend Yearly Meeting.[60] During this same period Friends were prohibited from going to the city by a New Jersey law requiring a special license for persons entering British lines. The penalty was death for all men apprehended without the license, and a fine of £300 or twelve months' imprisonment for all women. Licenses were seldom granted.[61] Earlier a law had been passed that those wishing to use the ferries out of the state were required to have a special pass.[62] And in 1781 a proclamation from the governor necessitated a passport even to cross county lines within the state.[63] Although these laws did not entail any loss of property, the enforced restriction upon their freedom of action was a real trial to the Quakers.

Of actual financial limitation, however, were the laws and regulations in respect to trade. There were quite a few Quaker merchants in Burlington County, and as Quakers they expected to continue to trade as they had in normal times. Of course, they were warned regularly by the various meetings not to engage in any trade or business connected with the war, particularly in the sharing of spoils or of prize cargoes.[64] In

[59]Evesham Monthly Meeting (1781), 471.
[60]*Hunt Diary*, 227.
[61]Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings (1778), 147.
[62]*New Jersey Archives, Second Series*, I, 160.
[63]*New Jersey Gazette*, Oct. 17, 1781.
[64]Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (1776), 356-357.

times of conflict, however, it is this type of trade which is most lucrative, and the frequency with which caution was urged upon Friends in this respect would indicate that there were many who were tempted to share in such a profitable business. Aside from the war trade itself, nonmilitary exports suffered heavily from prohibitions and duties. Illicit trade with the West Indies was curbed,[65] special licensing for trade through New Jersey ports was ordered,[66] and an ad valorem duty was levied on all merchandise imported into the state.[67] This last act was particularly hard on the Quakers in view of their close associations with England. Then, as the war progressed and supply needs mounted, the list of articles whose exportation was prohibited increased, until there were few goods of any kind which could leave the state.[68] Indeed, some items, such as salt and saltpeter, became so scarce that bounties were offered for their procurement.

Despite, or perhaps because of, their own sufferings, the Quakers were ever mindful of the sufferings of others. The meetings recommended that Friends in general, and those who were blessed by "substantial earthly bounties" in particular, should be ready to aid in the relief of distress among people of all societies and all denominations.[70] Solicited and unsolicited aid in money and supplies was subscribed for the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting by Friends in Ireland and England.[71] War and politics, then as now, played no part in the relief of suffering. Although in need themselves, the American Friends dispensed their own relief with willing and generous hearts. Aid had been sent to Massachusetts after the initial revolutionary events had caused suffering to many, including Friends,[72] and in 1776 the Burlington Quarterly Meeting sent the sum of

[65]Lee, 106-111.
[66]*New Jersey Archives, Second Series,* I, 41-42.
[67]*New Jersey Gazette,* July 25, 1781.
[68]*Acts of the General Assembly of New Jersey, 1776-1783, passim.*
[69]Lee, 114.
[70]Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (1776), 357.
[71]Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings (1778), 185-186. See also the petitions in *PMHB,* XX (1896), 125-127.
[72]Bowden, II, 304.

£284..10..7½ for relief in that New England state.[73] East Jersey in 1777 had received assistance from the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, for distress caused by the fighting in that region.[74] In view of such relief work, it is not difficult to imagine the response of Friends to the pleas sent out in 1776 for old sheets and linen to be used by Dr. William Shippen, Jr., in the Jersey Hospital.[75]

The Continental Congress was politic and wise in its recognition of the position of the Society of Friends during thes years. Its resolution in July, 1775, set a pattern with which the Quakers could find little to quarrel: "As there are some people, who, from religious principles, cannot bear arms in any case, this Congress intend no violence to their consciences, but earnestly recommend it to them to contribute liberally in this time of universal calamity, to the relief of their distressed brethren in the several colonies, and to do all other services to their oppressed Country, which they can consistently with their religious principles."[76] Although this official attitude was consonant with that of the Quakers themselves, it unfortunately did not lessen the annoyances and hardships they sustained. The irritation of the authorities at their pacifism undoubtedly created some of the difficulty; the pressing and ever present needs of the military forces caused much more. There were indeed "Great Commotions" in these years "by Reason of the Struggling of the powers of the Earth," but despite their sufferings, it should be emphasized that there was remarkably little wavering from their testimony against war by the Friends of Burlington County during the American Revolution.

[73]Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings (1776), 101.
[74]*Ibid.* (1777), 124-128.
[75]*New Jersey Archives, Second Series,* I, 146.
[76]Worthington C. Ford, *et al.,* eds., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, 1905-1937), II (1775), 189.

CHURCH-STATE RELATIONSHIPS IN EARLY NEW JERSEY

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Editor's Note: Dr. Turner, of the Department of History at Princeton, is not a stranger to the *"Proceedings."* He is the author of the able article, "Governor Lewis Morris and the Colonial Government Conflict," which we printed in our October, 1949, number.

It is a great pleasure for me to be part of the proceedings here today, and I want to commend the officers of the New Jersey Historical Society and Burlington County Historical Society for their part in bringing together the men and women active in New Jersey history. The paper I have prepared is my expression of appreciation for their excellent work.

I would like to talk to you this morning about the origins of a commonplace—that is the beginnings of the American tradition of the separation of church and state. You know, of course, that the church-state relationship as we experience it today did not come to this country with the first settlers. The relationship as we now know it was in fact developed over a period of more than 200 years and was far from being settled at the time the Federal Constitution was adopted.

When the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States declared separation of the two institutions to be the supreme law of the land, it merely meant that the Federal Congress should make no law respecting an establishment of religion. The states continued to deal with religion and government much as their customs from colonial times dictated. It is, therefore, to the level of the individual colonies which we must turn to find the wellsprings of this particular American tradition.

What I wish to do this morning is to discuss with you for a few minutes some factors in the history of this development as it evolved in early 18th century New Jersey. It would be pleasant to be able to say that 250 years ago the inhabitants of Burlington, New Jersey, were all enthusiastically marching down the highroad of American tradition. But this is an

historical convention more interested in facts than fancy. Such a statement will be better reserved for ten days hence when Fourth of July orators will give more glowing accounts of the founding of American institutions. The fact is that the famous church here, the old and honored St. Mary's was on a bi-road facing in the opposite direction; it was the seat of an overwhelming effort to knit a close bond between church and state. This attempt may have been laudable in terms of the setting of the time and in view of the formidable opposition of the Church of England, but it was none the less contrary to the practice we hold natural today.

During the early 1700's two distinct occurrences were taking place in the middle colonies which were tending to disrupt the principle of keeping religion and government mutually exclusive. One was a deliberate movement sponsored by a desire on the part of a religious denomination (a small one in New Jersey) for a spiritual leader with sufficient temporal power to protect an infant church against its enemies—political and religious. This was a movement by Anglicans to secure from the mother country Church of England bishops to reside and officiate in the colonies. Nowhere in North America did this drive so nearly culminate in success as here in Burlington, New Jersey, where a house was purchased as a residence for the expected bishop. This was in large part consummated, as you know, through the efforts of the Reverend John Talbot of St. Mary's. Church and state relations would of course have been much more tightly cemented if the effort had succeeded to secure bishops, because these dignitaries in the 18th century were vested with wide influence in legislative, executive and even judicial branches of government.

The second trend in evidence pertaining to this relationship was not a formal movement, but an inevitable consequence of the peculiar nature of the political and ecclesiastical life of the day. It was becoming veritably impossible for Anglican clergymen to refrain from activity in temporal affairs. The relation of church and state, you know, may be a formal one codified in

civil and ecclesiastical law. It may on the other hand be merely extracurricular pressure brought by individual members of the cloth and the body politic upon one another. The trend of the Anglican clergy to step outside purely spiritual affairs into the world of government was of this latter nature. This growth was evident in all the middle colonies but was particularly prevalent in New Jersey due to the bitterness of political rivalry and the dubious position of Anglican missionaries. And in both these instances—the struggle to secure a bishop and the mixing of secular and ecclesiastical affairs—the Anglicans of Burlington were in the forefront of events.

There were of course valid doctrinal reasons for colonial Anglicans to work strenuously for a bishop, but the story as it unfolds in the decade from 1705 to 1715 shows that the greatest single advantage to be hoped for from seating a bishop at Burlington was to obtain a spiritual head with political power, not only to protect the Church of England against Quakers, Presbyterians and other dissenting sects, but to force the civil authorities to foster and maintain the Church against all opponents. If it is understandable, and I think it is, that a minority denomination ringed about by vigorous enemies should seek civil aid, it is no less surprising that Anglican clergymen should openly espouse political factions when the trying conditions under which they labored are fully known.

It does however tend to upset some of our preconceived notions about the origins of Americanism when it is realized that the two tendencies in a direction away from separation of church and state were being supported by some very influential American colonists and being neglected or actively frowned upon in the mother country. For respite the tremendous effort in the middle colonies, and especially here in West New Jersey, to have the Church of England established here with a bishop in residence, Crown and Parliament never could agree so to tighten the bonds between religious and secular affairs. Furthermore it was in the face of direct instructions from England that Anglican clerics must remain out of civil

affairs that the missionaries took up the cudgel between two warring political factions.

Now let me take up a familiar example or two and explain why certain New Jersey colonists were seeking to alter the existing church-state connection.

As you know at the beginning of the 18th century two new institutions simultaneously began to play a vital role in the affairs of this colony: one spiritual, the other temporal. The first was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, an organization established for the purpose of sending Anglican missionaries to the colonies from England. In the first decade of the 1700's, the Society began to send clergymen across the Atlantic. The destination of most of them was the middle colonies. Here the demand for them and the opportunity to do constructive work was the greatest. It was an act of high courage based on great religious faith which spurred these men to build churches and parishes in a country where dissenting sects were already well established and jealous of their right of first possession. In this region where we are assembled the greatest opponent of these Anglican missionaries was of course the dominant Quaker element entrenched in government through large proprietary holdings.

It was a matter for high rejoicing among the Anglicans, therefore, when the second new institutions, royal government, was established over New Jersey, for this meant to all intents and purposes that the Quaker proprietors of West Jersey would no longer hold full sway in government. It was natural that the first royal governor, Lord Cornbury, should be received with open arms by the members of the struggling Church of England in New Jersey for here was a man in supreme authority who was not only an Anglican himself but was soon to become an extreme advocate of driving Quakers from positions of influence in government. It was natural, I say, but wholly unfortunate, because Cornbury was one of the most corrupt of all the governors ever sent to the colonies

by the Crown. Seeking to line his pockets, Cornbury pitched upon that political party for support in which the influential members of St. Mary's Church were active. Lt. Governor Richard Ingoldsby, Jeremiah Basse, Hugh Huddy, Alexander Griffith, Colonel Daniel Coxe, Thomas Revell, Daniel Leeds—these were the great supporters of Burlington's Anglican church—church wardens, vestrymen, influential parishioners. And unhappily these also were the men who for political and financial reasons burrowed into the rotten core of the corrupt governor's party. The fruit of this unholy alliance was more than pious missionaries could stomach and it exploded the first church-state controversy which I wish to cite as an example.

The Reverend Thorowgood Moore, temporary rector of St. Mary's parish, a highly moral man with more spiritual enthusiasm than temporal sagacity, declared war upon the low ethics of the day. Accusing the governor of immorality and denying the sacrament to his parishioner, Lt. Governor Ingoldsby, Moore was ordered by the civil authorities to stop preaching. He refused and Cornbury had him arrested.

In this case unlike later instances the Anglican clergy clung together almost to a man. No matter what their political affiliations, the clergy knew Moore was in the right. Political actions of men may not have been within their province, but morality in any sphere of life was their concern. But if Moore's actions were morally right, it was grossly impolitic in the first decade of the 18th century publicly to accuse a royal governor and lieutenant governor of misconduct, and the Church in New Jersey suffered accordingly. It was in fact left temporarily destitute of missionaries when the Reverend John Brooke of East Jersey helped his imprisoned colleague to escape. The two clergymen felt impelled to flee the country. Of more permanent injury however was the fact that lay Anglicans took up arms along political party lines.

Moore was accused of traducing the governor not for religious scruples but for political purposes. This was evident, it

was charged, because he had been seen constantly in attendance upon Colonel Lewis Mooris, the head of the proprietary party and Cornbury's bitterest political opponent. These leaders of the opposing political factions, Cornbury and Morris, had but a short time previously both been eulogized by the clergy as sincere and ardent churchmen. Their support, in fact the solid backing of every influential lay Anglican, was absolutely essential to the healthy growth of the infant Church. Now as a result of the brave if precipitous action of the New Jersey missionaries, party discord was drawn not only along political lines, but within the bosom of the minority religious denomination.

The effect of this dispute was twofold. With renewed vigor the request for an episcopal bishop for the colonies was prosecuted. Never, said the clergy, could a governor have suspended a minister from his clerical duties, arrested and carried him by force into a neighboring province, and there imprisoned him without trial, if a bishop had resided in New York or New Jersey. John Talbot pressed the cause for the clergy, Lewis Morris for the proprietary party, and the impartial Caleb Heathcote of New York acted in behalf of independent lay members of the Church of England. This then was a plea for the establishment here of an authority who would carry sufficient weight in government to prevent such institutional wrangles and bring the two into greater harmony.

The second effect of the Moore-Cornbury episode was an attempt by Anglicans to secure a new governor favorable to their cause, one who would foster the Church and above all be a member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Here is a striking example of the effort to tighten the relationship of state to church. It was in effect a request that the S.P.G. put pressure upon the Crown to appoint royal governors in accord with the wishes of Anglican clerics in the colonies and approved by their religious organization at home.

It appeared at first that this plea had been effectively answered when Colonel Robert Hunter was appointed Governor of New York and New Jersey. Hunter was a man of

high morals, political wisdom, and a member of the S.P.G. But despite these qualifications New Jersey Anglicans were soon involved in a new and more bitter controversy with their governor. Hunter's first action was to concern himself with the political corruption left behind by Cornbury and Ingoldsby and he proceeded "to turn the rascals out" of office. This hit some of the members of St. Mary's parish a double blow. Not only were they deprived of lucrative posts in government, but their political and religious opponents, the Quakers, succeeded them in office. Hunter, seeking able men to serve on his council and in the courts, gave little thought to religious qualifications.

It is difficult for us in 20th century America to understand the passions aroused by this act of statesmanship. In 18th century New Jersey however Hunter was considered by some Anglicans a traitor to his religious faith. When in addition the new governor approved a bill permitting Quakers to serve on juries without rendering the customary Christian oath, the issue was squarely joined. This new law and the infiltration of dissenters into the New Jersey Council became the focal point for a virulent quarrel among the missionaries of the S.P.G.

It began with a scurrilous report on conditions in New York and New Jersey written by the Reverend Jacob Henderson who for a short time served St. Mary's Church in the absence of John Talbot. Henderson's survey constituted a violent denunciation of Governor Hunter and several Anglican members of the proprietary party. Immediately the middle colonies' missionaries ranged themselves either to applaud or denounce this political cleric. A New York convocation unanimously apologized to the governor for the folly and slander of their colleague, acknowledged the governor's "piety and virtue," and condemned Henderson for his indiscretion. In Pennsylvania, the clergy supported the attack upon the administration of the adjoining provinces, but reserved their most biting remarks for the action of the New York convocation.

As in so many other cases in New Jersey colonial history, this province was caught between the big guns of its dominant

neighbors. In Burlington John Talbot joined forces with the Henderson anti-administration Anglicans, while the Reverends Alexander Inness and Edward Vaughan took up arms for the governor's party and New York clergy. The final Jersey cleric, Thomas Halliday of Amboy, shifted position in the midst of the dispute.

Halliday's change in opinion is illuminating. His first reaction had been to resent Henderson's disparagement of one of his parishioners and benefactors. And he had objected to the violation of the Society's order to all missionaries not to meddle in affairs of civil government. Henderson's action, Halliday wrote to the S.P.G., "is a down right trampling of that instruction. There are two parties in this province, as I suppose you well know, and they carry their differences and animosities against one another with the utmost rancor of malice, and nothing but the ruin of one another will satisfy either. Mr. Henderson's scheme [to alter the council of New Jersey] goes plainly to advance that party which acknowledges [Lord Cornbury] for their head." Furthermore he added that for Henderson to attack Anglicans who were good friends to the Church, and to claim they were merely supporting it for subversive political purposes was both false and impolitic.

With this letter and his attendance at the New York meeting of clergy, Halliday had clearly ranged himself against his outspoken colleague. But discussion with John Talbot and several gentlemen from Burlington rapidly changed his mind. He attended the Pennsylvania meeting, talked with Henderson, and came away convinced that at least if political disputes were not the concern of the clergy, Hunter's law to permit Quakers to serve on juries was most certainly the business of every Anglican both secular and of the cloth. Henderson, he agreed, was clearly in the right for fighting it with all weapons at hand.

This quarrel like the one in Cornbury's regime had the effect of renewing endeavors to secure a resident bishop both to keep the clergy from involvement in political affairs and to

force the government to rescind its action in regard to Quakers and instead to encourage the Anglican faith.

But more important was the effect upon the missionaries themselves in their attitude towards the church-state relationship. Halliday's opinions are illustrative because his change in principles was so abrupt. He had, as I mentioned, at first referred with admiration to the Society's instructions to stay clear of political involvement, but rapidly he began to advocate the closest tie between church and state. He started by suggesting that the New Jersey assembly be asked to erect parishes and settle a revenue on the Anglican Church. If the legislature should fail to do so, the governor should be ordered by the Crown to exert every possible pressure for its enactment. Two years later Halliday was pressing a more ambitious scheme. Not only should parishes be erected by the New Jersey government, but they should be increased in number, and the additional ministers needed to serve them should be supported by taxation. If the provincial assembly will not do so, Parliament must, said Halliday, insisting in support of his argument that taxation for support of the local government might be settled in England without making any breach on the liberty of the colonists. This incidentally was the British position later in the century which stirred the American colonies to rebellion. In short, Halliday maintained that the Church of England could legally be settled in New Jersey without infringing any man's rights despite contemporary estimates that Anglicans were outnumbered here fifty to one.

But even these proposals were insufficient for the impetuous Mr. Halliday. He would have the Society's missionaries appointed to the Commission of Peace, an organ of civil government, so that they could more effectively suppress immorality and recommend the interests of religion in cases brought to jury trial. Dissenters, he thought, would then come to realize that the clergy had the capacity to serve them in civil concerns which would tend to outweigh any scruples they might have in matters of religious conformity.

These examples, and they can be multiplied, add up I think you will agree to a definite effort away from the separation of church and state. Rather than leave you however with an impression that the Anglican clergy of New Jersey were confirmed advocates of some type of theocracy, I should like to emphasize before closing the unfortunate circumstances which led some of them towards a close church-state relationship. That they interfered in political affairs is evident but conditions adverse to the early 18th century Anglican missionary made this situation inevitable. For the most part they were young men more filled with religious zeal than worldly wisdom. This was so because only such clergymen had the intestinal fortitude, the moral courage, and physical strength to undertake so grueling an assignment. First they must hazard themselves to French enemies on the Atlantic and more than one was carried into French prisons during these years. Then, once settled in the colonies, they found themselves ringed by new enemies—this time religious ones. Their parishioners were scattered and too poor to grant them a subsistence. Sickness, poverty, and violent opposition were heavy discouragements. They needed and sought wealthy influential patrons to make life bearable and their missions successful.

This automatically led to political involvement. Refusal to support patrons brought disastrous consequences; witness the case of poor Mr. Halliday who turned his back upon his influential parishioners to support Henderson's attack on New Jersey councillors. The doors of Halliday's church were immediately closed against him and he was threatened with imprisonment for debt. Other missionaries, slandered without cause by unscrupulous opponents, were deprived of the miserable stipend allowed them by the S.P.G. and were left destitute until some influential colonist could be persuaded to come to their aid.

No, they were not wholly to blame. Circumstances were against them. They were chosen for assignment to the colonies primarily because they had zeal and youth; and it was these

two characteristics which acted against them. Enthusiasm for their calling provoked them to intolerance of dissenters while immaturity led them to be imprudent in their opposition to civil government.

It must not be forgotten however in weighing the factors which led to the American tradition of the separation of church and state that it was in aristocrats like Lewis Morris and Robert Hunter, who sometimes appear outside the democratic tradition, that we find the forerunners of Americanism in the church-state relationship. These men, ardent churchmen in their own eyes, insisted that dissenters were people with the rights of human kind. And since the later were in the majority, any act of government which might force them into an unfair position vis-a-vis Anglicans could only bring about the overthrow of government to the detriment of all denominations.

Lewis Morris for example deplored the partisan religious passion of some of the Society's missionaries. When they had first begun to migrate to the colonies, he had urged the S.P.G. to send only mature, prudent men with adequate financial support. And when the Society was unable to comply and its missionaries began to advocate extreme measures against non-Anglicans, Morris wrote "I hope I shall not be deemed an enemy of the Church when I say the dissenters are men and of the like passions with us—and ought to be treated with temper or humanity or will never be gained."

Governor Hunter likewise begged the Society to instruct its missionaries in decorous behavior towards those of different religious persuasions. He declared his strong attachment to the Church of England, but he said, "as all things are liable to corruption, the Church, like others, has its fanatics. Have not the temper and moderation of this reign brought more thousands to the church than the severities and contrary conduct in the former did single persons?" The missionaries, he said, must be more moderate in seeking converts, "for if the spirit of meekness, that is the true Gospel spirit cannot work that effect, it is in vain to hope for it from its contrary."

That is a sentiment which today rings true to our modern ideas of toleration in religious affairs. It is action based upon this principle which permits the functioning of the American tradition of separation of church and state. And it was this attitude on the part of the majority in New Jersey which prevented the establishment here of one religion to the exclusion of others. New Jersey's contribution to American tradition in this field, therefore, remained inviolate despite the vigorous efforts of an influential minority.

THE ORIGINAL MINT OF THE NEW JERSEY COPPERS

By Damon G. Douglas, Caldwell

Editor's Note: The author is president of the Damon G. Douglas Co., a construction company of Newark. He is also a member of the Board of Trustees and third vice president of the New Jersey Historical Society. His interest in coins stems from the assistance he gave his young son, some years ago, in collecting Lincoln pennies. From this beginning he has developed as a hobby the study of numismatics with particular emphasis on early New Jersey coinage.

A significant but almost forgotten episode in New Jersey's "experiment in independence" was the exercise of sovereignty through the establishment of a state coinage in 1786. It consisted of some 3,000,000 "Horse Head" coppers upon which appeared for the first time on any authorized coinage the legend *E PLURIBUS UNUM*.[1]

That the site of the mint in which such an historic coin was first made should have been entirely forgotten and that two other locations at which the coinage was subsequently carried on are presently the only recognized mint sites is a prank of fate that can now be corrected.

These two later locations, the John Cleves Symmes home in

[1]Sylvester S. Crosby, *The Early Coins of America*, Boston, 1873, gives most of the previously published history of the issue. Referred to hereafter as *Crosby*.

Morristown,[2] and the Matthias Ogden home in Elizabethtown,[3] were recorded some sixty years after the events in reminiscences by an octogenarian and a septuagenarian who each recalled having seen in early childhood one of these mints in operation. But no such eyewitness account of the original mint has come to light and thus its very existence as well as its identification have perforce been established from a mosaic of existing documentary fragments. However, the picture they piece together is a clear one and establishes the south bank of the Rahway River on the east side of what is now St. George's Ave., Rahway, as the historic site. The evidence is presented now for the first time.

A grist mill and a saw mill then occupied the site. Sold to Christopher Marsh by Abraham Clark three months before he signed the Declaration of Independence, they became the property of Daniel Marsh in October, 1777.[4] They appear in the list of ratables assessed against him in 1779 to 1783,[5] the only years for which the records are extant, and were a part of his estate at his death in 1803.[6] A careful search of the county deeds indicate them to be the only mills of which he was possessed.

This Daniel Marsh had served as an Essex County Justice of the Peace and as one of the judges of the County Court of Common Pleas. In 1785 he was elected one of Essex County's three representatives in the General Assembly and in January of 1786, with five associates, had inaugurated a new line of stages between New York and Philadelphia.[7]

The Continental Congress was giving attention to the state of the copper currency and in January of 1786 had referred

[2]Lewis Condict in *Proceedings of N.J. Hist. Soc.,* 1856, p.10, and *Crosby,* p.282.
[3]*Crosby,* p.287, Ernest L. Meyer's Map of Elizabeth, 1775-1783, labels it "Robert Ogden", Matthias' father. A description is given in Essex Deeds, N-441, 15 June 1807, by Matthias Ogden's three sons to Joel R. Davis.
[4]Essex Deeds, D 2-290.
[5]N.J. State Library, Ratables, Box 37.
[6]Essex Deeds, H-645.
[7]Advertisement in *New York Gazeteer,* Jan. 24, 1786.

to the Board of Treasury a letter regarding a federal mint from Matthias Ogden,[8] Essex County's member of the New Jersey Legislative Council. Ogden, a young hero of the Revolution, held the contract for transporting the mails between New York and Philadelphia over the old line of stages in which he owned an interest.[9] In March of 1786 he had introduced a bill to establish a copper coinage in New Jersey which had unanimously passed the Council only to be rejected in the Assembly with Daniel Marsh's vote cast against it.

By the time the next sitting of the legislature convened, Ogden had disposed of his interest in the stages and had the permission of Congress to shift the mail transport to Marsh's new line.[10] This or some other considerations must have changed Marsh's attitude toward a State coinage of coppers. As one of a committee of four, appointed by the Assembly, to confer with a trio of Englishmen petitioning for a contract for such a coinage, he introduced a bill in behalf of the petitioners entitled "An Act for the Establishment of a Coinage of Copper in this State."

This bill was enacted into law on June 1, 1786 with Marsh and Ogden both recorded as voting "Aye." It granted to the three contractors, Walter Mould, Thomas Goadsby and Albion Cox, the privilege of coining 3,000,000 coppers, each to contain 150 grains of pure copper and to bear such marks and inscriptions as should be directed by the Justices of the Supreme Court. They were to be valued at 15 to the Jersey shilling and the total amount was to be completed within two years. For the privilege the contractors were required to pay in to the State Treasury one tenth of the coins struck each quarter and to give at least two sufficient sureties for their faithful performance of the contract."

With the contract secured the contractors by what may seem to be more than mere coincidence, proceeded to lease as their mint the mills of Daniel Marsh, and Matthias Ogden, bound

[8] *Journals of the Continental Congress,* XXX, p.22n.
[9] Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 61, pp.291-2.
[10] *Journals of the Continental Congress,* XXX, p.197.

himself to Marsh as surety for Mould and Cox. The lease itself has not been found but that it was recorded on page 217 of Liber A, Essex County Deeds, is attested by the Grantor and Grantee indices which survived a 19th century fire which destroyed the deed book itself. Its date, June 22, 1786, is given by Matthias Ogden in an affidavit and petition for a writ of *ne exeat statum* which he secured July 19, 1788 in an unsuccessful effort to prevent Walter Mould escaping from the state after having defaulted on the rents and, since Cox was then insolvent, leaving Ogden bound for them.[12]

A rule of reference by the Chancellor, Governor William Livingston, filed June 7, 1788, in a complaint of Cox against Goadsby required that Cox, if successful in proving his complaint, should "exonerate the Security now liable to pay the Rents of the Mills agreeably to the Contract with Daniel Marsh." It further stipulated that "all the implements, tools and other property, taken from the said Works by a Writ of Replevin, be returned and put in the same state as much as possible they were in when taken away."[13]

The Writ referred to was issued January 29, 1788 at the request of Cox.[14] It directed the sheriff of Essex County "to replevin and deliver" to Cox "Two Iron Cutting Presses, one pair of Rollers, Twelve Ingots for Casting Copper, Six hundred Wait of Blanks for making Copper pence and Sixty Ingots of Copper and one Coining Press which Thomas Goadsby hath taken and unjustly detains against the said Cox and his Pledges." Part of these items were signed for by Matthias Ogden on February 9, 1788 as "Received at Rahway Mills" and "taken from Mr. Thomas Goadsby on 30 January 1788 at said Mills, by virtue of a writ of replevin against him."[15]

The amount of the rents and the term of the lease are given in letters written by Jonathan Dayton, Matthias Ogden's

[11] *Crosby*, p. 278.
[12] N.J. Court of Chancery records, Ogden vs Mould.
[13] Ibid, Cox vs. Goadsby.
[14] N.J. Hist. Soc. Mss. A 78.246.
[15] N.J. Hist. Soc. Mss. Caleb Camp Papers.

brother-in-law, to John Cleves Symmes in 1789 after the death of Walter Mould in Ohio. "As the surety of Messrs. Mould and Cox he (Ogden) has been obligated to pay for them . . . one year's rent of the mill which is £130." and later "Genl. Ogden having made a liberal & advantageous offer for giving up the mills which Mould and Cox had taken for seven years at £130 per ann., for the payment of which he had unhappily bound himself as surety . . . "[16]

The exact date when coining started at the Mills has not been determined but we shall establish that it was well ahead of the other locations. It appears to have been subsequent to November 17, 1786 when Goadsby and Cox petitioned the legislature for a revision of the contract that would sever their rights from Mould.[17] They alleged that although they had completed their establishment of "rolling mill, furnaces, cutting and coining presses, unwrought copper and copper ore" all without any assistance from Mould, he still prevented their start at coining by his refusal to join with them in the legally required bond surety which they had already posted with the treasurer. When on November 22, 1786 the legislature enacted the requested severance, there was no further bar to an immediate start.

That the coining did commence promptly thereafter would be inferrable from the fact that three months later on March 16, 1787 the Treasurer acknowledged receipt of the first quarterly payment of the state's royalty. His account book shows this to have been paid to him in the form of a parcel of the coppers sent to him by Goadsby and Cox by the stage coach.[18]

However, Walter Mould was to require considerably more time to make the necessary arrangements for starting the coining of his one-third of the originally authorized amount. His removal to Morris County is established as having taken place late in March of 1787. Testimony to this effect was given

[16]Beverly W. Bond, Jr., *The Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes*, p. 231 and p. 238.
[17]N.J. State Library Mss., "Social and Economic."
[18]Princeton University Library Mss., The Account Books of James Mott, Treasurer of New Jersey.

by his attorney, Caleb Russel, before Essex County Justices on April 14, 1787, challenging the venue of the court since his client had been a resident of Morris county for just over a fortnight past.[19]

The first payment of royalties from the Mould mint were received by the Treasurer in coppers and was receipted for on May 8, 1787.[20] Mould's bond and sureties for the faithful performance of his contract had been sent to the Treasurer on January 18, 1787 by Attorney Russel, just within the two months permitted by the legislature.[21] The coining, however, could scarcely have commenced before Mould's removal from Essex County, or about the first of April, 1787, long after the presses at Rahway had started their copper flood.

The third mint, "a room behind the kitchen" of Matthias Ogden's home in Elizabethtown, was not in operation until considerably later. The authority for it is the recollections of Mrs. William (Mary Barber) Chetwood, recounted to her son Francis B. Chetwood in 1858 and recorded by him at that time.[22] She recalled as a child of ten or twelve having seen the coining press in operation but did not recall having seen any rolling, annealling or cutting of planchets. Born November 1, 1780, she would have been ten years old in 1790 and only six in 1786.[23] Now there took place in 1789 or early 1790 a very considerable operation of overstriking with the Jersey copper dies a great quantity of diverse copper coins, the circulation of which had been stopped by the coppers "panic" of mid 1789.[24] For the recoining of these the only operation needed was that of the coining press. A few of the old coining

[19]Essex County Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, Mss. writ discharging Thomas Abney from indenture.

[20]See note 18 above.

[21]Letter of transmittal now in collection of J. N. Spiro.

[22]*Crosby*, p. 287.

[23]Wheeler, *The Ogdens of Elizabethtown.*

[24]*Minutes of the Common Council,* New York, 21 July 1789, Vol. I, pp. 471-2, *Gazette of the United States,* 22 July 1789, *Pennsylvania Gazette,* 28 July 1789. The overstriking was reported June 7, 1790 by an Assembly Committee, *Proceedings of the 14th General Assembly of New Jersey.* It is attested by many of the overstruck coins still extant.

dies, originally used at the Rahway mint, together with a number of new dies were used for this later overstriking operation.

The rule of reference of June 7, 1788, to which we have previously referred, besides requiring the return of all tools and implements to the Mills, placed them all in the absolute custody of Matthias Ogden as Trustee pending the report of the referees. In the fall of 1789 Ogden had arranged with Marsh for giving up the Mills and, with the referees' report still not forthcoming,[25] it may be presumed that the coining tools and implements were removed at that time to the Ogden home in Elizabethtown. This presumption is confirmed, at least with regard to the coining press, by the sale in 1794 by Ogden's widow of "one coining press" to the first mint of the United States.[26]

Thus we can be sure that neither this Elizabethtown operation nor Mould's Morristown coining can dispute the position of the Rahway mint as the first in which were coined the Jersey coppers.

Although this experiment in state coinage ultimately resulted in failure, the Jersey "Horse Heads" were the sturdiest of their contemporary rivals and outlasted them all in public acceptance. The effect of their *E PLURIBUS UNUM* motto as propaganda for a Federal government may have been considerable. The copying of this motto on the coins of the United States when Albion Cox and John Harper of the original Rahway mint were both working at the Federal mint may have been more than merely coincidental.[27]

The venture adds to our New Jersey Heritage a chapter of free enterprise in coining whose imprint still stands boldly on the coinage of our nation. Surely the site where the minting commenced should receive broader recognition. Jointly with

[25]It was finally rendered June 3, 1790, Unindexed Mss., New Jersey Court of Chancery, Record Vault No. 6.
[26]Frank H. Stewart, *History of the First Mint of the United States,* Camden, 1924, p. 175.
27.Ibid. p. 88 and p. 92.

the New Jersey Numismatic Society and the Historic Sites Markers section of the Department of Conservation and Development, our Historical Society might well undertake to see that it does.

THE FUTURE OF HISTORICAL ACTIVITY IN NEW JERSEY

By Dr. Richard P. McCormick
President, The New Jersey Historical Society

What should be the future course of historical activity in New Jersey? What is needed to bring the level of historical activity in this state up to a standard commensurate both with the rich heritage that the state possesses and the vast potential of citizen interest? Certainly these questions challenge us as we gather today in this first New Jersey Historical Conference.

Any consideration of the future of historical activity in New Jersey must take into account three basic factors. The first of these is our historical resources. We must be aware of the breadth and depth of our history; we must assess our treasures. Fortunately, New Jersey is endowed far above most states with a wealth of historic tradition. One of the earliest settled colonies, we have roots extending more than three centuries into the past. Out of the fascinating complexities of the proprietary period, with its unusual political and economic institutions and its heterogeneous peoples, can be woven a story of deep interest. Our revolutionary period is marked by scores of engagements, by internal conflict, and by the frequent presence of Washington and his Continental Army among us. Later, there are the stories of economic changes in industry, transportation, and agriculture; of the movement of peoples both into and out of the state; of the emergence of cities, of the activities of outstanding personalities, of the changes in

society. Ours is, indeed, a colorful and important history; we are rich in historical resources.

Secondly, we must have a numerous body of citizens interested in our history. Here again we are strong. As evidence of our strength we can point to some forty organized county and local historical societies. Beyond these groups are the thousands of citizens who are eager to learn more about their home state. The success of the historical series presented in the *Newark Sunday News,* the *Newark Star Ledger,* the *Elizabeth Daily Journal,* the New Jersey Bell Telephone's *Telefacts,* and in other local publications testifies to this broad interest as does the general appeal of historical novels and motion pictures. People are readily interested in history if it is presented in an interesting fashion.

We have, then, abundant historical resources and a vast potential audience. The third ingredient essential to a successful future is a vigorous and imaginative program. Herein lies our challenge—to formulate a program that will capitalize fully on our resources.

Basic in such a program must be a set of historical concepts sufficiently comprehensive to serve both as guide posts and sources of motivation. We must open our minds to the wide horizons of history and seek to encompass in our story every aspect of human activity from the colonial beginnings to the present. Too much have we concentrated in the past upon the colonial and revolutionary periods, to the neglect of the last century and a half. We have also tended to concern ourselves with political and military events to the exclusion of significant developments in other fields.

If local history is to serve the high purpose of revealing the macrocosm in the microcosm, we must examine every aspect of our little world. This means that we must be diligent in seeking out the stories of religious movements, of the emergence of organized labor, of the growth of local industries, of the arrival of new immigrant groups, of the growth or decline of cultural institutions, of the shifts in agricultural patterns,

of the trends in politics. We must not fall into the habit of merely retelling the old, familiar stories of our past; we must constantly seek to push back the historical frontiers and bring to light more and more data about every phase of our history. This is our first and highest responsibility.

If our program is to have the widest possible support and command general interest, it should serve not only the members of our organized societies, but also the community at large. We must have a strong sense of social responsibility. We exist to serve the general public as well as our dues-paying members.

In practice this means that we should be interested in all the elements that make up our community and that we should reflect in our historical endeavors the varied interests of our community. Self indulgence is a danger to be avoided, for it can lead only to sterility and loss of the broad popular support that is essential to a vigorous and continuing society. With an institution as with an individual, the healthiest viewpoint is outward, not inward.

Having in mind broad concepts of our field of endeavor and of our relationship to society at large, we must employ the best equipment and the most modern techniques available to accomplish our purposes. Although our concern is with the past, this should not mean that in our collecting, preserving, and interpreting of historical materials we should be bound to antiquated methods. In recent years we have been presented with many tools that enable us to do our work more efficiently. We can now make excellent use of microfilms, photostats, and wire recorders in collecting source materials, for example. We have film strips, slide projectors, motion pictures, radio, television, and phonograph records at our disposal as well as a host of new techniques in the museum field and in publication to enable us to bring history to the people. Because we are in competition for the public's interest with groups and institutions that have long since discovered the effectiveness of modern devices for communicating ideas and information, we must ourselves adopt these new instruments or fall by the wayside.

Along with new methods, we need also new members if we are to survive and grow. Moreover, our membership should be more heterogeneous than it usually is at present. Many social, economic, and cultural groups that have heretofore not been drawn into our societies, but who could readily be interested in an historical program of broad scope, can swell our ranks and strengthen our organizations. Every group in the community, whether it be a business, ethnic, religious, labor, or fraternal group, has made some historic contribution to the community and has therefore a valid basis of interest in the program of the local historical society.

We need young members, too. In many states the active participation of youngsters has been enlisted through the Junior Historian movement. Dr. Lord may tell us this evening about the Badger Historians in Wisconsin, who now number eighteen thousand. In the near future the New Jersey Historical Society plans to sponsor such a movement in this state, and it will welcome the cooperation of the local societies. From the ranks of these young people will come a stream of members for the enrichment of the adult organizations. More important, we will have an opportunity to assist these school children to gain an intimate understanding of their American heritage as they find it in their immediate environment.

In much that we would all like to be able to do in the future, we will discover the necessity for closer cooperation among all the historical groups in the state. We all profit from conferences such as this one today, where we can exchange ideas, compare notes, gain stimulation. We could, in collecting materials, substitute intelligent collaboration for uncoordinated competition. We could engage in joint ventures in the maintenance of historic buildings; in the promotion of educational projects; in the publication of regional studies in the sponsoring of lectures, pageants, tours, and research projects; and in efforts to induce governmental bodies to accept more responsibility for historical activity. We might well consider the desirability of entering into some form of federation for the accomplishment

of our mutual objectives. Across the river—in Pennsylvania—such a federation has meant a general strengthening of the historical societies throughout the state. The same result, in all probability, would follow in New Jersey.

Our final element remains to be considered in thinking of the future of historical activity in New Jersey. What can reasonably be expected in the way of activity by public bodies? At present, the State of New Jersey gives as little support to historical endeavors as almost any state in the union. We have no state historian, no state archivist, an inactive historic-markers program, no publication program, a weakly supported historic sites program. Regrettable as this situation is, there would seem to be little likelihood in the near future of a change for the better. In part for financial reasons, we shall probably continue to lag far behind our sister states. Incidentally, Dr. Lord, Director of the Wisconsin Historical Society, has told me that his state appropriation for next year will be $350,000, exclusive of $300,000 for renovating his museum.

In the absence of official interest and support, we must attempt to do the large job that is to be done through privately supported organizations. We will, many of us, have to discover ingenious ways of making bricks without straw. But believing as we do in the importance of our mission, we will accept as best we can our heavy responsibility.

Our responsibility is a heavy one, for it is nothing less than to contribute largely to the preservation and extension of our heritage as Americans. We feel that we can bring to our fellow citizens an especially keen awareness of the meaning of that heritage because we can interpret it in terms of familiar names and places, in terms of their own home community. Instead of dealing in distant and abstract national generalizations, we deal with the familiar and the local.

Aware as we are of the importance of our work, fortified by broad historical concepts, assured of an interested audience, and armed with a vigorous and imaginative program, we can look confidently forward to a promising future for historical activity in New Jersey.

MAKING OUR HERITAGE LIVE

By Clifford L. Lord,
Director, Wisconsin Historical Society

In inviting me to be with you tonight, Dr. McCormick suggested that I interpret my rather broad subject in terms of the work of historical societies.

Basically an historical society is an educational institution. The late Nicholas Murray Butler once defined the function of such institutions as the preservation, advancement, and dissemination of knowledge. To him, quite correctly, these three phases were a perfect trinity—co-equal, inseparable, indivisible —three-in-one. If my assumption is admissible that essentially the historical society is an educational institution, Dr. Butler's felicitous definition is most certainly applicable to our task.

If we are to make our heritage live through our historical societies, obviously we must know what heritage is. We must first of all assemble our materials. Herein lies the society's well-known function as the preserver of knowledge. All of us collect within the limits imposed by our energies, our definition of fields of responsibility, and our budgets. We collect in libraries and museums. Some of us collect the archives of our state. Some of us have specific responsibilities for county and local records. Some of us have been drawn into the field of court records. But are we doing all we can? What about business records, which surely cast great light on the economic development of our states and localities? What about organized labor, which, whether one is pro, con, or neutral, admittedly has been a powerful factor in shaping the history of the last half century? What about the records of agricultural and horticultural societies, early clinics, medical societies, experimental farms, insurance companies, railroads, mining companies? What about our responsibility for helping guide the genealogist from the mere preparation of family trees, interesting as they sometimes are, to the preparation of true family histories, in which the members of the family operate not in a

vacuum but as actors or participants in the history of the times, in the wars and revolutions, the migrations, the social and economic successes, dislocations and failures of their day? Surely such a case history sort of genealogy, honestly done, would make a far richer contribution to state and local history and to our understanding of the American experiment than is now the usual case.

We brag about the "melting pot", which indeed is one of the great achievements of the American experiment and a vital part of our heritage. Are we doing all we could and should to the historical archaeologist who is making such a growing contribution to our knowledge of our own history in this country? Are we keeping our museum collections up to date with models of modern machinery or samples of the products of our factories as they change almost from year to year? Are we collecting photographs sufficient for the adequate documentation of the history of our state in the year 1951?

I would not labor the point. None of us can hope to do all the collecting we should (and which will one day be expected of us) if we insist on working by ourselves. I would emphasize, however, that we can easily enlist important aid from outside sources. If you will pardon one brief reference to the program in Wisconsin, I can give you a specific illustration. Within the past two years a grant from the State Federation of Labor has enabled us to hire a full-time man to locate and garner the non-current records of organized labor in the state. The State Medical Society has made a grant for a similar project in the field of medical records. The farm implement companies have donated funds for the selection and gathering of old farm and craft tools. Industry has cooperated in setting up a central catalog of extant business records, not only indicating the types of records and the years for which they exist, but also indicating the conditions under which they may be consulted for research purposes. Voluntary student-faculty teams in most of the colleges and universities in the state are preparing material for a Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography.

An annual photographic contest gives us excellent contemporary photographic documentation at very little expense. In addition, this contest is furnishing us with a popular exhibit each year and with illustrative material for our annual calendar and date book. We need not go it alone. There is plenty of help to be had for the asking.

The advancement of knowledge, to move to Dr. Butler's second point, involves the research programs which each society supports according to its means. We all prepare guides to our collections, bibliographical data, catalogs. We give assistance to the scholar who comes or writes to us. We furnish photostats or microfilm copies of materials on request. But are we doing all we can in encouraging research in state and local history? Are we working up projects which would make a real contribution, are we soliciting the funds or the services of the graduate students necessary to carry these projects out? Are we doing what we should for the amateur, the county and local historian, the fellow who, if he had a little help with the canons of historical evidence, the means of locating adequate sources, and the techniques of effective writing, could make a real contribution to state and local history instead of the inadequate, inaccurate, and unreadable material he all too often turns out now. Self-sustaining summer institutes or short courses, such as are now being offered in New York, Indiana, and Wisconsin, can help. Supplemented by individual coaching given by the advisors enlisted by the society for the institutes these groups could turn the trick.

* * *

If we are actually to make our heritage live, the knowledge that has been collected and advanced must be disseminated just as broadly as possible. The disseminating function, therefore, deserves the major emphasis tonight.

For most of us the program of public education and interpretation of our history involves first of all museum exhibits. The modern museum is one of the finest teaching devices yet perfected. It is the product of a revolution in techniques of the

last two decades, a revolution with which you may or may not be thoroughly familiar. Perhaps the term "museum" still conjures up to many of you a vision of a series of drab, tan rooms, packed with black show-cases which in turn are jammed full of a wide variety of objects, poorly lighted, poorly labelled. Such a museum uses the technique—or lack of it—usually referred to as "visible storage". This is not the type of museum I have in mind.

The modern museum director faces a problem surprisingly like that of the window-dresser of the large department store. He must attract the attention of the passer-by (and you'd be surprised how many museum visitors are passers-by in precisely the same sense as the man or woman walking by the department store window), and he must make his sale. He therefore adopts the best devices of the window-dresser: trick lighting, plenty of color, aesthetic arrangement, clear and compelling labelling. He eschews only the hyperbole sometimes associated with modern advertising. A display of that type, housed in uncrowded galleries in a general atmosphere of cheerful informality, attracts attention, gets its information across quickly, pleasantly, effectively. This sort of museum is a public educator of prime value. *It* can make our heritage live.

But the educational program does not end within the four walls of the museum. To a rapidly increasing degree, museums throughout the country, including historical museums, are taking their wares to the people. Circulating exhibits, accompanied by carefully compiled explanatory data, are prepared for use in the schools, the public libraries, in the smaller museums, and in those communities which have no museum facilities of their own. These displays may be actual artifacts. They may be documentary in nature, like the displays of the Freedom Train. They may be mounted on wall panels for easy shipment, or processed for tray display. They cost little to prepare. Shipping costs are met by the borrower, and, if you are efficient in routing the display, these costs can be held to a minimum. Illinois and Oregon have set up travelling exhibits or museum-

obiles which have even greater flexibility for really covering a state.

Folk museums offer unique teaching advantages for the historical society, especially when demonstrations of techniques, machines, and implements can be presented, as is done at Cooperstown, New York. Surely no more convincing evidence can be produced of how far we have come in a very short time than an exhibit of the implements of a century ago.

The preservation of imperilled historic houses and other historic buildings is often the peculiar responsibility of the historically minded. These buildings are not only important as landmarks in our heritage, but also in many states they are utilized by state or local historical societies or agencies as living reminders—more eloquent than a hundred books — of the standards of living of various strata of our society at different periods in our history.

Movies are beyond the financial reach of most of us. But the more modest film strip, accompanied by an adequate teacher's manual, is a very helpful device used by several historical societies to make our heritage live. The film strip is not expensive. It is effective.

Aware as we all are of the value of the historical method and the sense of perspective which history alone can give to its devotees, we have no doubt often thought what history could mean to children.. But have we thought enough of what children could mean to history? Several states, notably New York, Pennsylvania, Texas, Illinois, and Wisconsin, have sizable junior historians programs operating in the schools of the state. In each state these junior members pay their junior dues, have their own historical magazines. They do a prodigious amount of research and writing: interviewing old timers, the industrialist, the worker; studying the changes in farm techniques and crops in their area and noting the enormous increase in the standard of rural living which the mechanization of agriculture has wrought; digging out the story of the idea which became a shop and then grew into a local factory; visiting and

investigating the workings of their local or county government taking trips to historic sites; putting on their own radio programs; holding their own county-wide or state-wide conventions staging plays and pageants; speaking before luncheon clubs and women's groups taking over an occasional program of their state or local historical society. These children are digging their roots deep into their own communities. They are studying things with which they already have some familiarity and in which they have at least a casual interest. They are getting the benefits of historical perspective with an intimacy which other history courses fail to supply. If they are not the better citizens for this experience, a number of us are going to be bitterly disappointed. We are also going to be surprised if many of them do not cast their lot later in life with the parent historical society.

We all disseminate knowledge through our quarterly magazines, our monographs, and "collection". But need they be dully written? Must they be so conservatively printed that only the professional will pick them up? A recent publication of the Indiana Historical Society won the Pultizer Prize. A publication of the Iowa Historical Society was ranked in the "50 Best Books of the Year" by the Graphic Arts Institute. I'm glad to learn that here in New Jersey you are redesigning the format of your magazine to capitalize on the great advances in layout technique of recent years.

Some of our colleagues like Vermont and Illinois have published picture books of the state's history. The Vari-Typer has brought a richer appearance to the multigraphed or offset publication. We need no longer get out materials lacking the eye appeal necessary to attract the general reader. We need not debase our standards. We sholud not resort to sensationalism. We must shun distortion as we would the plague. But it does not change the nature of the Atlantic City bathing beauty to wear a modern bathing suit instead of a model produced in the 1890's. It need not change the nature of our publications to clothe them in modern dress. It will get them

looked at—and looked at they must be if, as they should, *they* are to help make our heritage live.

There are many other devices on which I wish I could touch, for the ways and means of making our heritage live are legion. They all mean work—lots of work. They mean money, private and public. They mean volunteer help—all we can get. They mean working with the schools, at institutes and summer workshops, with principals, superintendents, supervisors, teachers, PTA's, and the children. They mean work with the colleges, the libraries, and with the various state departments. They mean lectures, seminars, institutes, regional meetings, heirloom shows, teas and receptions tours. They mean participation in book fairs, antique shows, state and county fairs. They mean speeches, film strips, radio programs, television broadcasts, close cooperation with the newspapers, conventions like this one here today, and movies if you can finance them. They mean work with the county and local historical societies.

And may I say here that few things seem to me more unreasonable and reprehensible than the feeling of competition that sometimes seems to exist between state and local historical societies. There is absolutely no reason why a joint program of mutual benefit to both cannot be worked out. Each can help the other with appropriations and publicity. The state society can furnish help and advice on collecting policies, museum practices, library cataloging for the small collection, or publications. Joint collecting policies can be worked out even in the field of manuscripts, if both sides will agree that the important thing is that important materials must be saved. Joint catalogs of such materials and provision for inter-institutional loans can make of such a policy a great collecting and educational device for the state in which it is adopted. Joint exhibits, joint membership drives, even joint fees are well within the range of possibility. I would commend to your study the operations of the successful federation of the local societies in nearby Pennsylvania.

I would commend to you also the potentialities of a woman's

auxiliary. Recent experiments in Chicago, Minnesota, and Wisconsin have confirmed again the wisdom of never underestimating the power of a woman. When the women get enthusiastic, nothing can stop them—and many of them have the time and the interest to do things for the historical societies that would be beyond the capacity of the men. And if the women (God bless them) are with you, who can be against you?

Each of the projects I have touched on tonight are part of the program of one or more historical societies in this country. I have recently had an opportunity to review the program of the majority of the state societies. The amount of work being done is really great. And happily it is growing. The sort of reenergizing you are going through here in New Jersey has had its counterpart recently in a number of other states. Where state appropriations are made for historical work, the increase in recent years has been substantial. Membership figures in many states show remarkable increases. More and more historic houses and shrines are coming into historical society ownership. More and more historic markers are being erected. More and more historical quarterlies and monographs on state and local history are appearing despite the rise in printing costs. This is an era when state and local history appears to be coming into its own. I think it only fair to ask if it is really that important, really worth all the time, energy, and money that is going into it.

For far too long a time, the popularizer of history, confronted with the mass of complex data which historians, economists, statisticians, sociologists, and bureaucrats have compiled, has fallen into the unfortunate habit of dealing glibly with sweeping generalizations and all-inclusive terms such as "agricultural revolutions", "industrial revolutions", "new plateaus of prosperity", in a somewhat frantic attempt to see the forest from an Olympian outpost well above the trees. While such syntheses are inevitable and have a very necessary place in historiography, their effect, when loosely handled or loosely

understood, has been to reinforce the Marxist idea that the individual is of no importance, is the pawn of circumstance, at the mercy of forces beyond his control and perhaps his comprehension. History, thus interpreted, seems to march forward to its fixed and predetermined end, and the universal and all-powerful state benevolently takes over direction of the individual's activities and affairs for the betterment of mankind, but with his total loss of freedom during the apparently interminable period of transitional dictatorship.

I quarrel with this mechanistic concept of history. I quarrel with the national historian who would have us believe that all policy is fixed in Washington and that our nation is in effect a herd of mechanized robots who carry those policies into effect. This simply is not so. Let's look at a few examples.

Certainly one of the key pillars of American democracy, the one factor which does the most to make real our boast of equal opportunity, is the free public school. Now it is quite true that federal legislation, beginning with the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, has had an influence by setting aside for school purposes one section of land in each township in each new territory beginning with that Northwest of the Ohio River. But certainly none would suggest that this accounts for the success of the free public school. The national policy of unlimited immigration, followed by a drastically limited quota system, had a great effect, but who would be so brash as to assert that this accounts for the success of the melting pot? Federal subsidies built the first transcontinental railroads, but how could those lines have survived, let alone flourish, without the great network of connecting and feeder lines built with state, local, and private funds further east? Obviously a history focussed exclusively at the national level is only a partial history, and our national historian stands in need of more trees for his forest.

Indeed as we look closely at the development of national legislation, we are struck at once by the fact that except for the tariff and for war or near-war measures like the Embargo

of 1807 or the draft of 1863, it was not until the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 that the federal government intervened directly in the affairs of its citizens or assumed actual regulatory functions. This act was the progenitor of a long series of first, policing and then, frankly regulatory acts; the Sherman and subsequent anti-trust acts, the regulation of railroads and utilities, the use of the federal police power in case of interstate kidnapping and the white slave trade, then later the fixing of quotas and support prices for farm products, the regulation of wages and hours, stock exchanges and holding companies, all in the name of the regulation of interstate commerce.

An influential American historian has held that "the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act indicated that the twilight of individualism in the United States had set in." But did it? Certainly what was later recognized as a new trend is visible in this piece of legislation, but three things should be remembered. First of all, that trend hardly affected many individuals until at least 1933, and individualism, after an inordinately long "twilight", shows signs not only of remarkable vitality but of a great resurgence with the contemporary unmasking of the beauties of life under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the creeping paralysis of initiative in the well-ordered economies of the socialist state.

Secondly, the edicts of Washington are not always accorded wholehearted and universal observance back home, as anyone whose memory goes back to OPA or to Prohibition can testify. A history of legislation, without a history of what really happened back home among the people is no history at all. Thirdly, the legislation of a Congress composed of representatives of states and districts within states will usually reflect local opinion and local pressure; in the case of the Interstate Commerce Act, or in the legislation of the New Deal.

Both the apostles of the all-powerful nation and the Cassandras of statism who see in such legislation the emergence of national dominance and the "twilight of individualism" would do well to turn to state and local history to study the back-

ground, the genesis, the legislative intent and effect of such legislation. The records suggests that the social scientist would do well to proceed as does his colleague in the physical sciences from the specific to the general, and not—as he all too often has done—seek to impose a national pattern on what is basically a conglomerate of local situations.

The study of history at the local level—the study of people—reveals how things really happen; how things act and react, how the wheels and gears of history mesh and cog with one another. It shows men living together, working together, getting along together (or not getting along together), at work, at play, in politics, business, government, social and cultural pursuits. It makes an agricultural revolution intelligible in terms of the local farmer who with machinery can cultivate a thousand acres where his great-grandfather could cultivate 10, and raise 80 bushels of wheat per acre where his grandfather could raise but eight to twelve. It has been known to indicate that a modern industry owes its site not so much to a favorable economic location as to the habitat of the founder's best girl. It shows that the cultural pattern of a town was fixed by a music teacher, a pastor, an editor, a wealthy sponsor—in short by people. It demonstrates the melting pot in action. It makes alive and real the processes as well as the spirit of democracy. It throws into sharp relief the effects of economic, geographic, cultural factors on the individual.. It gets history back to the people. It is this local, this *people's* history that refutes the dominance of economic motivation to the exclusion of all other factors; that clearly demonstrates the power of the individual to make his contribution, to shape or help shape the course of events; to make history where much history is made—at the local level.

What emerges from the study of local history is a strong reaffirmation of the importance of the individual, a tenet basic to western civilization and essential to the American idea. That, in turn, is a powerful antidote to the feelings of mass helplessness, feelings which, assiduously cultivated by interested

parties, breed mass movements of the extreme left or the extreme right and thence lead to the police state: the all-powerful, the Godless, the "monstrous" state. This, I submit, is *important*. Our job is important.

It is a huge task which lies ahead. We do not fully understand ourselves. We have not achieved any real agreement on what is the hard, vital core of the American experiment. We have never really studied the impact of the corporate era on the individual. We need to understand more fully the continuing differences between our various states, not alone in terms of soil, climate, water resources, topography, mineral deposits, population density, and occupational pursuits, but also in state laws and the judicial precedents of the state courts which decide the overwhelming bulk of litigation in state institutions, administrative practices and policies; in state political and economic set-ups and their implications for democracy. We need to understand why a small compact political machine can dominate modern Virginia but not modern Wisconsin.. We need to understand how state law as well as federal law affects our business and industries and has for a long time. As John Erskine once wrote me right after Hitler's armies swept through France, "Anything which helps us to understand ourselves is precious these days." State and local history is indeed a precious key to such understanding.

It is even more important that we should understand exactly how Americans have achieved an equality of opportunity unparalleled in most of the rest of the world; why we have achieved the highest standard of living of any people and the highest per capita income; how we have so successfully mixed and mingled peoples from all overt he world into a great, free nation.

For we are engaged today in the greatest battle for the minds and souls of men which the modern world has witnessed. It is essential in these days of American leadership of half the world that, while on the one hand we get to know and understand other peoples and their background or history, we

on the other hand know and understand and publicize the essential elements from which have germinated the most dynamic economy and the most fluid and democratic society in the history of the world.

We should publish to the four corners of this round earth the demonstrable bases for our belief in the kinds of rights and opportunities, the attitudes toward men and toward mankind which have made America great. Study local history and we dissipate the fog of intangibles, the great mystic trends of the popularizer and the Marxist. We check the generalization against the concrete. We restore the dignity and the importance of the individual. We begin to see what has made America "'click". We get back to the fundamental proposition that history is largely man-made—and to the all-important corollary that our problems, if man-made, are with God's help man-soluble. We are struck forcibly with the fact that the frontier is not closed, that opportunity is not gone. We come to appreciate the significance of the American experiment. We see the essential elements it has to offer to all men everywhere as a goal, a dream, an inspiration. We begin to comprehend why democracy is still potentially the greatest revolutionary force on the face of the earth.

I would leave you with this idea: That state and local history are of great potential importance, have a vital role to play in the modern world. The work of our societies is therefore deeply significant and worthy of our best efforts. In our work of preserving, advancing, and disseminating knowledge in this field, our purpose and our challenge is to make our heritage live for ourselves, our contemporaries, and our successors; for our fellow Americans, for our fellow citizens of the world who seek as our forefathers once sought at Trenton, Monmouth and Princeton, the blessings of liberty for themselves and their posterity.

Without adequate statistics, and risking a broad generalization myself on the basis of personal observation, I believe that a large majority of the half million Americans enrolled in

historical societies are far more interested in the local than in the national manifestations of the American story. Some of this, let's be frank, is pure antiquarianism. Some is a matter of family pride. Much is a bit pedestrian. But some of it, I choose to believe, is a matter of conviction—conviction that richer loaves and fatter fishes await those who work these more restricted waters. In those waters, I say again, there is work a-plenty for the state and local historians, professional and amateur. There is a real job for societies such as yours and mine to encourage and to undertake such basic, interpretive research, to publish abroad our findings about the variety that is our democratic America: a story wrapped up in forty-eight states, one federal district, and the innumerable bits of America which are home to our people; to make our heritage live. Probe the peoples' history and we arm ourselves for what Andrew Jackson once called the "expansion of the areas of freedom", for strangely enough in the present critical contest for the future of the world there are greater ideological weapons in our relatively ill-prepared hands than in those of the national and nationalistic historians of our day.

THE EARLY CAMPAIGNS IN NORTH CAROLINA AS SEEN THROUGH THE EYES OF A NEW JERSEY SOLDIER

(Private Edmund J. Cleveland,
Co. K, Ninth New Jersey Volunteers)

PART III *(Continued)*

June 6, 1863 — September 7, 1863
Edited by Edmund J. Cleveland, Jr.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1863
4:30 P. M.

We have just been ordered to prepare for a scout. We will probably start before dark as there is a peremptory order to cook immediately four days' rations.

Today I drew a dollar order on the sutler and had a jolly time off a canteen full of cider.

A paper of July 19 says that James Island has been occupied by our forces and that Fort Wagner was taken by an assault of the 10th Conn.

6 P. M.

All is hustle and bustle in preparation for the scout.

Lt. Townley told me that the paymaster is expected tomorrow but I am afraid that he will not put in an appearance before we start on the expedition. It is said that we are to go to Swift Creek, twelve miles from here.

6:30 P. M.

The order has been countermanded. The boys had begun to draw their sugar and coffee but are ordered to turn them in again. Great excitement about nothing. It rained this morning and again this evening. The drum is calling us to the guard house, so after all the fuss I shall have to stand guard.

THURSDAY, JULY 23, 1863

While we were on guard about 10:00 p.m. a horse came galloping down the road. The rider dismounted at the colonel's headquarters. This was a few moments before I was relieved. By the time I reached the guard house the whole barracks was lit up, as well as the barracks of the 23rd Mass. New orders had come and the boys were making fast preparations to go and draw again rations of coffee and sugar. The guard was sent to quarters and was not on hand to salute the new guard.

This afternoon a portion of the cavalry returned. It is said that they went as far as Tarboro, tore up the railroad track and held the place for eight hours. Then they had an engagement with a body of rebel cavalry and captured several prisoners including a paymaster and a colonel.

The reported reason for our receiving so many changes in orders, was that dispatches coming in indicated that our cavalry was afraid of being cut off at Big Swift Creek. We were ordered to support them. Over two hours ago Cos. A, B, C, D

and H were ordered to start with two days' rations. While we were eating supper, the bugles summoned them and in a few moments the order was countermanded.

While I am writing a locomotive and cars are on the railroad near the barracks, the train to carry them to Bachelor's Creek, where the 23rd Mass. went this afternoon.

I heard Doran reading from the N.Y. Herald about the taking of the batteries on Seabrook Island and an account of our recent expedition. It is all 23rd Mass. and no mention of the 9th N.J. In the same paper are hints of a war with England.

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1863

I have been suffering from a swollen jaw. It ached all night and continued through the day. The hospital steward has given me some liniment to bathe it.

This afternoon orders came to be ready to leave at daybreak tomorrow. It is said that we are to go by transport to Fortress Monroe. But I think that if Virginia was our destination we would take our knapsacks.

Various rumours are afloat that we are to go to Charleston or Wilmington. We have been ordered to have nine days' rations with us. I shall try my best to go with the boys although I feel little like it. Another rumour. The paymaster is in camp and we are to be paid off this evening.

The latest news is that Rosecrans has defeated Bragg at Chattanooga, Tenn.

Boys are busy making preparations.

SATURDAY, JULY 25, 1863

ON BOARD STEAMER "CONVOY," SAILING ON PAMLICO SOUND BETWEEN NEW BERN AND ROANOKE ISLAND.

The boys kept up a racket until after midnight on hearing the news of Lee's supposed demoralization by Meade.

Reveille 2:00 a.m.; formed at 3:30 a.m. and marched to the wharf where we boarded the steamer. At other docks along the river I saw troops boarding transports—four in all.

Many gunboats accompany the expedition. On this boat, the open space below is filled with bunks. Cos. F and K were fortunate enough to secure the stern hurricane deck. Gen. Heckman and staff are on board. It is very hot below and the odor of the horse stables does not make the place more agreeable.

On the way down the Neuse I saw the hulks of vessels, sunk in the harbor by the enemy. Before we were out of the river, we were overtaken by the dispatch boat, "Mystic." For some distance we had a race but now that boat is almost out of sight.

We had a hard shower this morning. We prefer to shield ourselves with rubber blankets, rather than go below. Hardly any land in sight. Only a blue streak off our port bow. We are bound for Roanoke and expect to arrive before night. It is said that the expedition is to reopen the Dismal Swanp Canal.

My jaw still gives me great pain.

SUNDAY, JULY 26, 1863

5:00 A. M.

We passed Roanoke Island at 6:00 p.m. yesterday. We saw two forts and a number of barracks on the shore. On our way we went by light ships and light houses, which saluted us with three booms of the bell and the "Escort" returned the salute with three blasts of the whistle. Whenever we passed another steamer, we exchanged whistles.

We entered Albermale Sound and anchored in sight of Edenton. We left there at 4:30 a.m. today. Only a part of the fleet is in sight. The accommodations on board for sleeping are poor. The stern deck is so crowded that it is hard to find a place to stretch out.

We have just passed Edenton, on our port, and the "Mystic" is along side of us. Some of the light houses we saw yesterday are handsome structures, resembling fancy canary bird cages, mounted on iron pillars and frames. The light ships are mean looking vessels. They are painted yellow and have four masts.

The scene grows more interesting all the time.

6:00 A. M.

The "Peconic," "Port Royal," "Mystic," "Utica," "Convoy" and another transport have anchored off Edenton. A gunboat, with a launch in tow is coming out to us. Another gunboat is making for shore. We will probably land soon.

10:30 A. M.

The gunboat I mentioned earlier has just passed us. The launch had a howitzer mounted on the bow. The gunboat "8" came in soon after, having in tow a section of a bridge. A few moments later the "Escort" came down the sound having General Foster aboard, and, in tow, the diminutive propeller, "Dollie," a dispatch boat.

We sailed at 9:30 a.m. and are now going up the Chowan River. Several gunboats are in the advance. The flag ship is the "Commodore Perry" with Captain Flusser, acting commodore, aboard. One of the other gun boats is covered with iron plating to shield the crew from musket fire.

By reference to the map I see that above us are three rivers, the Notooway, Monerin and Blackwater, which empty into this river, which one we will follow I do not know. We have passed several plantations. The land appears well cultivated. The "Convoy" is in the advance of the transports.

7:00 P. M.

Bivouac Beyond Winton

We disembarked at the Winton dock at 3.00 p.m. As we formed line, I noticed a party of artillerymen dragging a cannon up the hill. Such puffing and blowing! We marched up the road and through the town which is now only a collection of houseless chimneys. Last year this place was a resort of guerillas who were troublesome to our shipping in the river. The gunboats shelled the place and the Ninth N.Y. (Hawkins' Zouaves) completed the destruction. Now it is indeed desolate. Some of the brick dwellings must have been fine houses in their day.

We followed the road toward Weldon, passing on our way

an open Church. We held several civilians and captured a number of horses. After going up three quarters of a mile, we countermarched, taking on our return the road that leads to Murfreesboro and Franklin (Va.). Pickets were posted in the road we left.

The 17th Mass. with one piece of artillery were ahead of us. We marched quietly for four or five miles, when we were startled by a scattering volley fired, as from ahead, and a shower of bullets whistled by. As per custom, most of us laid down in the shade of the trees on either side of the road. The 17th returned the volley, and the cannon fired two shells. Then we advanced just as the Massachusetts men charged.

A short distance farther on, we came upon a single piece of "secesh" artillery drawn by mules instead of horses. Beyond this was a breastwork extending across the road. Nearby was a house. The owner with his horse and buggy was held. As we marched for another half mile, again the bullets whistled around us. We laid down for a while and then we went on until we reached a bridge, and we are now bivouacked on the other side. I have just now heard that four of the 17th Mass. were wounded and I saw two of them being carried to the rear.

About a dozen prisoners were taken, all fine looking men, the best Confederate soldiers I have seen. They are members of a cavalry regiment recently organized but not yet mounted. Many men have lain down in the road, prostrated by the heat. Another prisoner has just been brought into camp. He says that there is a body of Confederates at Murfreeboro—eight miles away. We are to be furnished another four days' rations tonight.

More artillery has come up from the "Escort" and we will doubtless see some lively work tomorrow. The 17th Mass. is still in the advance. I have just gotten a new rubber blanket which I found in the road. Lt. Brown, Co. C has in his possession a "secesh" weapon, an old Harper's Ferry musket. Tonight I shall bunk with Randolph. Peer has been taken sick and Lt. Townley sent him back to the boat. I was told that after we crossed the bridge a rebel was discovered under it, with his

musket aimed at a Yankee who was none other than Carrigan of Co. K. Fortunately he was discovered before he pulled the trigger. A rebel was found dead inside the breastwork. His head had been blown off by a shell.

MONDAY, JULY 27, 1863

Bivouac 6:00 A. M.

We were aroused this morning by picket fire. We were in line for a while and then laid down again. When I went down to the creek to wash the hospital steward said that we will probably remain here for a day, and then go on to form a junction with the 4th and 11th Pennsylvania Cavalry who have come down from Suffolk, Va. They will cross the Chowan River on a pontoon bridge, near the place we landed. The cavalry is a part of Gen. Foster's Virginia Command and the 4th is his bodyguard.

I have walked over the breastworks near here. It has a portion for infantry—100 yards long—with an artillery embrasure for four cannon at the end, and it looks as though it had been hastily put up. It is supposed that there are rebels in the woods on our left.

Graham of the artillery has been showing the boys a handsome Colt revolver which he took from a rebel yesterday. The civilian who was held with his horse and buggy was a doctor. He was on his way to see some patients in Winton.

11:00 A. M.

The 17th Mass. now occupy a rebel camp of shelter tents, three miles in the advance. The enemy hid supplies of clothing in the woods but the boys of the 17th found them and took possession.

Many prisoners have come in. They crossed a cornfield near the camp of the left wing and gave themselves up, an orderly sergeant and a major among them. I have just learned we are at Hill's Bridge on Polacasy Creek.

Kaiser of Co. K has made some segars of leaf tobacco found this morning and the boys are smoking them. A foraging party of Co. B early this morning captured a mule and cart and

brought it into camp full of pottery, frying pans, tools, a shot gun and various other articles, including several hams. There is a plentiful supply of green corn and many porkers in camp.

6:30 P. M.

Contrabands keep coming into camp. They tell us the party of rebs who fired on us yesterday was in command of Captain Cherry. They were dismounted cavalry. The informant had been orderly to a lieutenant of the company. He wore a Confederate uniform complete with beth and brass buckle with C.S.A. inscribed on it. We are seven miles from Murfreesboro and thirty-three miles from Weldon. As shovels have been brought into camp it looks as though we were going to throw up breastworks. The cavalry is all the 1st N.Y.M.R. (Mounted Rifles). These boys say that they have not changed their clothes in three weeks, being continually out on scouts.

Randolph and I had for dinner boiled new potatoes, dug from a field a short distance off. We have erected a shelter made with two crutches and a pole, and our rubber blankets thrown over them. While I write the rain is pattering on the roof of our little house.

TUESDAY, JULY 28, 1863

7:00 A. M.

At 9:30 p.m. yesterday the cavalry began coming. They made a long procession which took two hours to pass. The force consisted of the 1st N.Y.M.R., armed with Sharps rifles; and the 11th Penn. They were accompanied by four mountain howitzers, four long Parrot guns with caissons. All the cavalrymen were mounted on fine horses.

I wonder if the rebel pickets will wave their hats at our pickets as they did yesterday. We will probably remain here until the cavalry returns.

Some of the prisoners say that Jeff Davis is now in Raleigh, the best fortified position in North Carolina.

We had to tumble out and get in line at 2:30 a.m. on hearing the reports of four rifles from different directions. One shot

was fired at a crazy negro, who was in camp yesterday and who was wandering around in the darkness. Another was fired at a rebel who had come within our lines and was trying to get back into his own.

6:00 P. M.

This morning I strolled down the road to the breastworks. On the right, i.e., going toward Winton, is an artillery position which commands the road for a quarter of a mile. One of our picket posts is just inside the works. While I was there a fellow brought in a cartridge box full of bullets and powder. I took two of the bullets—a conical one, which weighted two ounces and a round one.

Some contrabands have been brought into camp and set to work with shovels, levelling the breastworks.

While walking behind the breastworks I noticed trees on which the rebels had carved their names, most of them of the 24th N.C. Infantry. Some of our boys, including myself, added their own names, with company, regiment and date. "Fools' names like their faces are often seen in public places." I found a few apples on the ground near the house in which Gen. Heckman has his headquarters.

In a N.Y. paper of July 23, which Lt. Townley has, it is stated that Lee has been surrounded by Meade at Winchester, Va. Some say the same news was in a Raleigh paper of July 26.

This afternoon some of the boys of the 9th N.J. captured two barrels of whiskey which was immediately taken in charge of by the officers, much to the chagrin of the captors. The 17th Mass. have a supply of the same fluid in their camp. Tomorrow a stop will be put to the foraging, as we are to have a roll call every hour. Tonight Randolph is on picket in the woods on the opposite side of the road. He kindly left his blanket behind so as not to disturb our little house. He is to prevent parties from visiting the house beyond us, on which many depredations have been made.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 29, 1863

2:00 P. M.

We have had roll calls every hour this morning but none this

afternoon, owing to the rain. Last night we had a terrific thunder storm. I am detailed with Campbell on water police. Two of the 4th Penn. Cavalry have just come in. One of them said that the cavalry have gone to Weldon by a different route, as this road has been blockaded with fallen trees. One of the baggage wagons filled with corn passed our camp a while ago.

6:30 P. M.

A half hour ago another detachment of cavalry went by, with fifty prisoners, horses, saddles, wagons, etc. Some of the prisoners were officers, including Col. French, who was stationed at Swansboro last summer. These men were taken several miles beyond Murfreesboro. The cavalrymen had a fight at Jackson (40 miles away) but could not dislodge the enemy from a position behind a swamp. They lost three killed and seventeen wounded.

The contrabands have levelled the breastworks a half mile from here.

THURSDAY, JULY 30, 1863

12:00 M.

The First N.Y.M.R. passed camp with a long retinue of wagons, and riderless cavalry horses, fully armed and equipped. I suppose that the fellows who rode them have been either killed or wounded. As I write, the remainder of the expedition is passing by. As usual, the weather is disagreeable.

5:30 P. M.

Court House at Winton

As soon as the 17th Mass. passed our camp at 1:00 p.m., we fell in and marched to Winton. Our course lay over a road well cleared but knee deep in mud. The 23rd Mass. was in our rear. We reached here an hour ago. The cavalry was resting on the road side when we arrived.

From a sergeant of the 1st N.Y.M.R. I learned that the cavalry penetrated to Jackson. They could not get the range of the enemy's artillery and turned around. The sergeant thought that the movement was a feint to draw rebel troops to that point. It was thought that they had three brigades of infantry

and twenty pieces of artillery. The cavalry is now crossing the river. As soon as they are over we will probably embark.

We have just received rations of whiskey. Corp. Stearns who is here beside me, requests that I record in this diary that his ration has made him feel a little "boozey."

I am writing in a frame building. The interior arrangements suggest that it is a court house, but a pulpit in the room indicates that it may have been a church and only recently transformed into a court house. The railing around the jury box is new. I have eaten my supper on the railing. Higgins made coffee for us.

Glass in the windows had been broken by the bullets of Hawkins' Zouaves and our boys have added to the depredations.

A building a few hundred yards from here were found to be full of coffins.

The reason for the riderless horses taken by our cavalry has come out. The riders, on seeing our troops approaching, jumped off and took the leg trail to the woods, leaving their horses behind them.

7:30 P. M.

I have just returned from a visit to the 81st N.Y. who are quartered in an old store in Winton. On the outside of the building the rebels have written many significant sentences intended to catch the Yankees' eye. I noticed the following "You — — Yankees are a - - - of a set of Pilfering Rogues." But the 81st N.Y. have added words like these: "Which now is King, Cotton or Corn, since Lee went into Pennsylvania?" "How do you like Meade since Gettysburg?"

Sergt. Bryant and I have just gotten a bench to sleep on from one of the jury rooms.

FRIDAY, JULY 31, 1863

5:00 A. M.

On Board the "Convoy"

Last night, after candles were lit in the Court House, the boys enjoyed themselves. Several sang or made funny speeches.

Suydam, Somers and Rankin were the chief performers. The building was filled with men. Frequent laughter rent the air. This continued until a late hour.

Hardly had we lain down to rest when the order came to fall in. Every other regiment had embarked before we left. From the Court House to the wharf the road was fiilled with slippery, clayey mud. At 12:00 o'clock we embarked and the vessel immediately left the wharf and continued on its course all night. We are now in Albemarle Sound, well on our way to New Bern. I could not sleep comfortably on account of the spray dashing in my face.

1:00 P. M.

On guard. We have just passed Hatteras Inlet. The mast of three vessels lying there are discernible. On our main deck are 30 bales of cotton captured at Winton. We expect to reach New Bern—250 miles from Winton—at 7:00 p.m. The vessel is making excellent time, in spite of a strong head wind.

6:15 P. M.

As I write a race is on between the "Escort" and the "Convoy." As soon as the boats met the race began. For a while we were several rods ahead of the "Escort," but we were even when we passed the Neuse light house. We entered the river at 5:15 p.m. When the race began we had 17 lbs. of steam and we now carry 23 lbs., so one of the deck hands told me. The race has continued nearly even, but now the "Escort" is drawing ahead. Everybody is excited and the boats exchange whistles frequently.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 1, 1863

We reached the wharf at eight o'clock last evening. "The Escort" came in a few minutes before us. There was a mail awaiting us.

Lt. Drake told me that in the first skirmish that he was struck in the left shoulder by a musket ball which bounded up after hitting the ground.

Peer returned this morning on the steamer "Utica," on which

were the sick and wounded, also prisoners. One of the latter told him that the Confederates would hold out to the end.

According to a paper a July 28, Lee is in Richmond and that we are repulsed at Charleston.

I have just learned particulars of the Cabally expedition which left here on July 17. At Rocky Mount they destroyed $25,000 worth of cotton, burned a bridge over the Tar River and blew up a train loaded with ammunition.

This afternoon a long line of contrabands from Winton passed the barracks on their way to the negro village.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 2, 1863

At roll call we were surprised to receive orders to prepare for inspection at 6:00 a.m. My rifle was in a miserable condition, and my accoutrements, worse. I had not touched them since returning from the expedition.

Today the boys received an initimation that Sergt. Wright would receive the next furlough given a non-com. A petition was drawn up and given to the colonel, directing his attention to the fact that Wright was home for four months last summer. The petition was signed by all the sergeants except Price and all the corporals except Higgins, and forty privates, myself among the number. The adjutant's clerk conveyed the petition to Lt. Townley, after the colonel read it. What will be the result no one knows. Sergt Price ought certainly to be the next non-com to go.

There is a rumour afloat that there will soon be another scout, this time beyond Bachelor's Creek, to attend to some raiders who have driven in our pickets.

The boys are talking about a regiment of regular cavalry which is being organized in New Bern. Those who join up will receive $500.00 bounty, provided they agree to two years more of service after their first three years.

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1863

I have spent most of the day scouring my rifle. The paymaster is in camp. He has paid off most of the regiment. Co. K will receive theirs tonight—four month's pay.

Last evening we had our first dress parade since the expedition. None, today.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1863

It was after tatoo last night when we received the long expected order to fall out for pay. Although we received four months' wages, the sutler's orders sadly diminished the piles of some of the boys. I had signed for $8.00 but, much to my surprise, the orders were not presented to me and I received full pay. There was something against "Corp. Cleveland." But no such person is known. I shall let the sutler discover his own mistakes. This morning the barracks floor was covered with torn-up orders.

The petition presented last Sunday has had no effect. Sergt. Wright is preparing to leave at a moment's notice. He has kindly agreed to convey our money to Mr. Wm. Townley of Elizabeth.

Today I paid my bills, including $1.00 to Joe Jackson for four months' cooking and all my washing.

New caps grace many craniums.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1863

Yesterday our commanding officer said that he would give passes for New Bern to the first two who applied after reveille. Sergt. Green and I were there on time, but Lt. Townley was not yet awake. Sergt. Wright said that he would tell the officer we were the first applicants. But when I asked for the pass after guard mount, I was surprised and disappointed to find that Ross and Hinton were the fortunate couple, and that Green and I might have a pass when they returned.

Not wishing to wait until afternoon, I stole out of the camp at an unguarded place. I passed the machine shop, near the depot, where mechanics are repairing engines, and contrabands with circular saws are cutting wood for the locomotives.

At a bakery on Broad St., New Bern, I bought and ate a hot pie. Though only eight inches in diameter it cost 15 cents.

On the return trip, I stopped at the fire engine house. I saw the piano-deck engine "J. D. Decker" and hose carriage

"Foster." Both appear to be old apparatus. I was told that there was a citizens' company here of fifty members.

Some one heard the colonel say that we are to go home. Four regiments are ordered back to enforce the draft. The 10th N.J. is now in Trenton and every influence is being used to have the Ninth selected for provost duty in good old Jersey. But Dr. Woodhull says we are to go to South Carolina soon. When talking with Capt. Ritter he said that he hoped that this was not so. How busy Dame Rumour is!

This evening a few shots were fired at the picket post on the railroad bridge. Some think that the rebs are about to make us a visit.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 6, 1863

This is the day set apart by the President for Prayer and Thanksgiving to God for granting us the recent victories. Sergt. Bryant took a squad of us to New Bern where we attended service at the Presbyterian Church. The discourse was delivered by a chaplain of one of the Massachusetts regiments. It was an eloquent sermon containing a rehearsal of our late successes and also those at the beginning of the war. The hymns "America" and the "Star Spangled Banner" were sung by a choir composed of "blue tapes" and "blue shoulder straps." They and the organist did very well.

After service we went down town. Almost all the stores were in respect of the day but on every corner men and women were selling pies, cakes, ice cream and lemonade.

During our absence Van Arsdale visited the barracks and left us a number of books, one of which, an extraordinary books of travels, Hoover is now reading.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7,1863

At roll call Sergt. Wright informed us that Lt. Townley would court-martial any man leaving camp without permission.

The health of the regiment is being impaired, judging from the number of patients visiting the doctor. No company drill—forbidden by the doctor for sanitary reasons. The adjutant and many other officers are sick, some in the hospitals. The weather

is very sultry. I suppose the sickness can be attributed to our miserable drinking water.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 8, 1863

Some of the negro troops have gone to South Carolina. Every day the barracks are visited by numerous colored people, men, women and children, selling lemonade at 5 cents a glass and gingerbread at 5 cents a cake.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 9, 1863

A year ago today I was sworn into the United States' service. I am on guard at a bridge. In the water nearby I saw on the surface some perfectly round leaves of a kind I never saw before. By the natives the flowers are called "Bonnets," by others "Splatter Docks."

Though the weather has been excessively hot, the officer of the day has requested the corporal of the guard to have his men keep their accoutrements on at all times.

A member of the 3rd N.Y. Cavalry treated us to a watermelon which he was lugging along. He was followed by a civilian in a buggy. He gave us a speciment from his own garden, a hickory bark musk melon of no mean size. Its flavour was delicious, resembling that of a banana.

MONDAY, AUGUST 10, 1863

We drew straws last evening and in this way, I was assigned to the last of four reliefs—3:00 to 5:00 a.m. An hour before I was releived a continuous crowd of darkies began to pass our post. They were going to work for the government. Later a couple of civilians, who say that they live six miles this side of Kinston and have always been Unionists, visited us. When ordered to report to the Confederate camp at Raleigh, they left for our lines.

George Townley was taken to the hospital last evening. He was very sick. Corp. Wm. Townley has been visiting us all day. He has just returned from the Beaufort Hospital where he had been since the first of June.

Evening

The health of the regiment is becoming worse. In our company only 17 files reported for duty. Lt. Townley, Sergt. Wright and Sergt. Price are down with the fever. Surgeon Woodhull is also sick. Many of those who are ill are the most rugged men.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1863

The Lt. Col. and Surgeon Gillette returned from the north this morning. I have not learned what news they brought.

Many of the negroes who sell daily edibles and drinkables in the barracks are mere children, eight to fourteen years of age. They are remarkably smart in their business dealings, but almost everyone has the bad habits of snuff rubbing and tobacco chewing.

There was a great rumpus, almost coming to blows, between the Germans, Weder and Kuntze, this morning. It was all because Weder had taken from a washerwoman an article of clothing which did not belong to him.

While drawing a bucket of water from the well near the invalid camp, I met a little darky who told me that today three boats came down the Neuse under the flag of truce. They were bringing into our lines women under the charge of a Confederate officer and soldiers. He said the officer wore a fine uniform with stars on the collar.

It is queer we don't get any mail.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1863

The health of the regiment is becoming still worse. More members of Co. K are down sick. I saw three being taken on litters to the hospital. Surgeon Gillette is doing all he can to help them.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 13, 1863

I scoured my rifle this morning. Wright and Randolph have received their furloughs and expect to start home tomorrow. Peer sent $40.00 and I, $25.00 to Mr. Townley in their care.

This evening Hospital Steward Slater was given a purse of

money by the members of Co. B. Putnam made the presentation and the recipient replied with a short speech of thanks.

Lt. Townley was taken today to the hospital in New Bern.

The days begin to shorten. It was dark shortly after dress parade.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1863

Today in New Bern a disorderly soldier of the 158th N.Y. was shot through the heart by a guard of the 24th Mass. Another from the same regiment was shot yesterday. This makes three men who have been shot lately.

The colored people are no longer allowed to come within the barracks to sell things. I think that the sutler had some hand in this restriction.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 15, 1863

A shower this afternoon. I have had an aching head all day. This evening I got the supernumerary guard, Clark, to stand in my place.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 16, 1863

This morning I reported to Dr. Gillette and he prescribed a putty-like pill to be taken immediately and a huge dose of epsom salts to be swallowed at 11:00 a.m. I sent part of the dose in a letter to P.M.W. and I could well spare it. I feel better this evening, though I can't sit up or walk around.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1863

This morning Dr. Woodhull prescribed three powders of quinine and cayenne peper, to be taken every four hours. I am afraid that I have not been faithful in following directions. I have had considerable pain but have been too weak to take the doses. Feeling worse I sent for the doctor and he prescribed a mustard plaster applied to the stomach and this eased the pain. Peer has been very kind. I was too weak to write in my diary yesterday.

Evening

Hospital Steward Slater visited me this evening and gave me powders with instructions to take them every one and a half hours. I am feeling better.

There was much excitement this afternoon. A house, said to be a resort of questionable character, located near the barracks, burnt down. It looked as though the whole population—men, women and children—were there. After the building was enveloped in flames, the Church bells rang and the fire engine and hose carriage appeared. But no water was turned on the blaze.

Old soldiers are inclined to bully the new conscripts. Result, a fight at the sutler's shop near Ft. Rowan this afternoon. The guard had to be called out to quell the disturbance.

Though I have an occasional head-ache, I feel much better. My appetite has returned and I ate a hearty dinner.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1863

I passed a bad night. During the short time I slept I had a dream which made a deep impression on my mind. Dr. Gillette gave me some more quinine and cayenne pepper powders. The Hospital Steward says that this is my "fever day." In anticipation of this I have written up my diary this morning.

Evening

Sure enough, I had an attack of fever between nine and ten o'clock but I have been fairly comfortable since. I had a good nap in my bunk. When I awoke I found that supper was over. Additions to the sick list include the cook and Joe Jackson.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 20, 1863

I do not feel much better. Peer is following my example in getting sick.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 21, 1863

Dr. Gillette gave me more powders, one to be taken every hour. I have had a ringing in my ears all day.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 1863

A civilian called at the barracks today. He was on a canvassing tour, collecting subscriptions for a lithograph. On this will be the roll of the regimental field and staff and Co. K's officers, non-coms and privates with a list of the battles, etc., all

highly ornamented with national emblems, scroll work, etc. I saw a sample of this "Soldiers' Memorial" and signed up one of them. Price, $1.50.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 23, 1863

The doctor did not give me any more medicine today. But I have taken an occasional spoonful of tonic and hope to report for duty tomorrow.

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1863

When I reported for duty this morning, I was detailed on general police. We dug pits in the rear of the barracks, for the kitchen and hospital refuse. We found the old sinks in a deplorable condition—filled to overflowing. This rubbish, along with heaps of trash in different parts of the camp, was loaded on to wagons and carried out beyond the breastworks where it was buried. Hereafter, for sanitary reasons, two days' accumulations in the pits are to be covered with earth. We did a hard day's work and, through the intercession of Lt. Swain, Steward Salter gave us something exhilirating when we had finished.

While we were working I saw the railroad monitor formerly attached to each train going to Morehead and back, being conveyed toward Bachelor's Creek. It has two guns, four portholes, and is plated with iron, invulnerable to musket fire.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 25, 1863

It has rained the greater part of the day. No company drills. No dress parade. The boys have been playing dominoes.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1863

Preparations and packing for removal have been going on all day. The general opinion is that we are to be taken to Carolina City or Beaufort tomorrow morning.

Lt. Townley has returned to the company and made his first appearance at dress parade in a long time. Color Sergt. Meyers appeared with chevrons, alternately red, white and blue, something entirely new.

This evening Co. K. acquired an additional members—

Thomas Lewis, a small North Carolina shaver, twelve years old. He says that his father was killed at New Bern and his mother died soon after. He asked to be taken aboard a gunboat at Plymouth and remained there for some time. He came to our regiment several weeks ago. After being cuffed around by members of other companies, he finally won the sympathy of the boys of Co. K and says he intends to stay with us.

Lt. Townley has just given orders to us to be ready to move at seven o'clock tomorrow morning.

THURSDAY,AUGUST 27, 1863

Camp of the 9th N.J., Carolina City

Reveille was sounded before daylight and by seven o'clock we were ready to go. But we did not go until three hours later. In the meantime the boys amused themselves by breaking all the bottles they could find, leaving the fragments and lots of rubbish on the floor of the barracks. As usual, many negroes were on hand to secure discarded articles.

We boarded the train at 10:30 a.m. and after much delay in starting reached Carolina City at noon. It rained the whole way, making the ride on platform cars anything but pleasant.

We reached our old camp and found that nearly all the bunks had been removed. Soon the boys made a great stampede for the camp of the 23rd Mass. and returned with arms full of boards. As a result, Peer and I have a good bunk.

Co. K's tents are in a sad condition. Our cap is torn and a large hole, increasing in size every minute, lets the rain through. While I write water drops on the book and I have hardly a dry stitch on. Peer and I have arranged our rubber blankets above the bunk. Poor Prospects for a comfortable night!

Some of the boys who went to Morehead yesterday saw a head board and a foot board for a grave. On examining the head board they were surpirsed to find the name of Luther R .Davis. He died on the steamer "Dudley Buck" off Hatteras on his way back from furlough. We came down here together last August. He was assigned to Gen. Heckman's headquarters.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 28, 1863

On guard. The guard tents were put up this morning and a relief is kept at the guard house. I suppose that we will have to repose there tonight. Lt. Shepherd is a first-rate officer. He suggested that we sit down under the shades, most of which are still standing. The rain stopped during the night and it became cool toward morning. Our things have been drying out all day. A continuous clatter has continued in camp throughout the day. Rose has joined No. 2 tent and bunks with Decker next to me. Today he rigged up a small cup-board between the bunks. It will make a good writing desk.

Watermelons are plenty hereabout. Many have been brought to camp. They sell from 10c to 25c. Hamler treated No. 2 tent with some of the fruit this evening.

The report is that we were ordered here by the Medical Director of New Bern. From the books of the regiment he discovered that there were no less than 200 sick in quarters. He thought a move would improve our health. The director is a resident of Minnesota but a native of New Jersey.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 29, 1863

Today I gave my rifle a good scouring. The company street has been cleaned up and the company well cleared out. About sixty frogs had made this their residence.

SUNDAY, AUGUSE 30, 1863

Inspection was set for 6:00 a.m. but the order was countermanded. I have been writing nearly all day. There are watermelons or musk melons in nearly every tent.

Our pickets are now stationed as far as Gale's Creek. The block house on Ogleby's plantation is now held by a small body of troops.

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1863

This morning we received a tent which was formerly No. 4 Tent of Co. I. It is first-rate. Muster for pay at 4:00 p.m.

On my return I got Tunis's and my mail. I found that Tunis's box had arrived. It was only seven days in coming. It

contained fine cut tobacco, many titbits, and a can which had two compartments. The upper one contained some excellent plum preserves and the lower one three quarts of exhilirating brandy, a good smack of which all members of Tent No. 2 indulged in. Such was the result of a first rate trick played on the inspecting officers. The box also contained a "Scotch Cake" which Tunis's sister-in-law made. It is as hard as flint but guaranteed to keep in all weather and is a delicious substitute for hard-tack.

Peer distributes all his things very generously, and we all enjoy them. A truly jolly evening for Tent No. 2.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1863

This morning gunboats from the blockade at Wilmington brought in two blockade runners. As it is rumoured that foreign men of war are trying to raise the blockade. More gunboats went out from Beaufort Harbor.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1863

Drizzly today. No dress parade. A regiment of colored troops went through on a train. They cheered lustily as they went by. I think that they are bound for South Carolina.

We now receive rations of onions instead of rice. Our bean soup today was delicately flavored with that vegetable. Very few of the boys like rice.

The days are growing shorter.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1863

This morning, Steve Crane accidentally shot hole through the roof of the tent. He was trying to snap out a piece of paper which had caught in another fellow's rifle. For the "offense" our commanding officer graciously assigned Steve an extra ration of duty.

The two Hamlers fixed up our dilapidated oven and made it good as new. Now we will get our baked beans as usual. With the bricks left we have paved part of the floor of our tent.

This morning a salute of 13 guns was fired in honor of Major Gen. John J. Peck in honor of his first visit to More-

head City, Beaufort, Fort Macon, etc. He came by special train this morning. Gen. Peck now commands our corps, the 18th.

Today is the anniversary of my first appearance on Bogue Island. I hope another year will roll me back to my native home. No dress parade.

Corp. Townley brought back on the train a barrel of flour which he bought in New Bern. It cost $8.50. I have visions of fresh meat pies and other delicate varieties in our company fare.

Some of the boys captured in the Sound a turtle measuring over three feet across. The creature's head though severed from the body was still snapping when I saw it.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1863

On guard, all day.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1863

We had to load our pieces last night; even my post was guarded by minnie balls. But we did not have to turn out for the "grand rounds."

Another rifle exploded in Tent No. 2 this morning. It was loaded with a small charge of powder and its owner got a double ration of duty. Peer this evening removed his traps to the cook tent. Decker has in his possession a curious bug. Its horns are like those of a cow and it uses them the same way. Jerry has kept the bug for a week and intends to sent it home in a box.

The boys of Tent No. 2 feasted on watermelon this evening. We saw a splendid meteor. It went clear across the sky. I I wonder what it prognosticates. We sang, "'When This Cruel War is Over."

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1863

Inspection 6:00 a.m. Immediately afterwards I started out on a stroll in the country. I followed the road leading to Ogleby's Plantation and halted first at the home of Malachi Bell. I had a confab with him on national affairs. For the first time, I saw Marybell, his daughter. She is an attractive brunette whose

eyes glistened like a brace of black diamonds. Though she sat on the porch only a few feet from me, I could not summon up courage enough to address her.

Next I called at the house where old man Mills once lived. I met the present occupant, a man named Smith, in the road and conversed with him awhile. He said he had been forced into the Confederate Army. When he was allowed a furlough to return for his clothes, he deserted. In his house, where he invited me to stop, I met his wife and a young lady whose name was Mary Griggs. Unlike Marybell she was not a brunette but a blond. These people treated me to watermelon and musk melon.

I continued on until I reached colored Martin's cabin. The place was full of company, both young men and women. Some were well-dressed. Near the block house, I met Mr. Watson who said he was getting along "quite pert." The block house is in pood condition. Co. E, 18th N.Y. form the garrison, They are there to regain their health. Many were sick where they were stationed at Havelock. The cook kindly gave me a cup of bean soup. After visiting the "Sound Post," I set out on my return journey.

I stopped at Bell's house. Here I met Mr. Willis and other members of the 9th N.J. Before leaving I picked some "Roses of Sharon," both white and purple, growing on a bush in the door yard, and put them with other flowers collected today, to be pressed in my knap-sack.

I returned to camp with Sergt. Bennett of Co. F. He says that Malachi keeps a watchful eye on his daughter. That is the reason why she has little to say to soldiers in his presence but at other times she is very talkative.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1863

Surgeon Gillette this morning ordered Peer to the regimental hospital, located in the first house this side of Latrobe's. On his way there, Peer was supported by Cadmus and Clark. I carried his knapsack. The cooking used him up.

The hospital is under the charge of Hospital Steward Salter.

The rooms are kept clean and in good order, but there are more patients than bunks. Conroy and Delaney are among the late arrivals. On my way back I saw the famous "Mary Lamb" returning home.

Flap jacks and clam fritters have become fashionable diet among the boys. Figs and grapes have begun to ripen and soon we will have plenty of them.

Following dress parade Lt. Townley told us that there were many rumours afloat indicating that within two weeks we would go to New Bern for provost duty, or to Norfolk, Va., or to Fortress Monroe. The general feeling is that the last place will be our destination.

(To be continued)

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE WOMAN'S BRANCH

The annual meeting of the Woman's Branch of the Society was held at the Society building, Newark, May 9, 1951. The report of the president, Mrs. Richard Hartshorne, read at the meeting follows.

We are happy to meet with you, our fellow members, and to report to you, whose stewards we are, on our activities in the past year.

Thanks to your membership, our Treasury has permitted us to make purchases for the Society, such as a fine American flag; to have bound the back copies of the *Antiques* magazine; to restore certain portraits, and to appropriate funds for further work of restoration when it is ordered. Finally, as your major contribution for the year, we take great pleasure in presenting to the Society, in memory of our valued Chairman of the Museum Committee of the Woman's Branch, the late Mrs. Moses Bigelow, a Bell and Howell motion picture projector. We hope that it will be the means of reaching great numbers of New Jersey citizens, young and old, with educational programs.

We acknowledge generous gifts from Miss Margaret L. Terhune, with which we have made additions to the library.

The Membership Committee reports 332 members. We need the help of each one of you to maintain and to increase this number.

The House Committee has served lunches to the members of the Board before monthly meetings. These are pleasant social occasions and Miss Carter and her committee are to be thanked for making them so attractive at low cost. They have also arranged the annual luncheons of the Society and of the Woman's Branch.

Miss Natalie Winser has continued to file newspaper records of historic interest for the library.

The Woman's Branch is interested in preserving the records of the past, in collecting fine objects for the Museum and in maintaining them, but it is aware that this is not enough—it must also help to preserve the intangible legacies of our forefathers. To this end, it has given a scholarship to a New Jersey high school student, both this year and last, for a week of intensive training in democratic government, at Jersey Boy's State, held at Rutgers in June.

We thank the staff of the Society for its friendly cooperation in our undertakings, and we pledge our support to our president, Dr. McCormick, and our director, Mr. Wall, in their extensive program plans.

Respectfully submitted,

ELLEN S. HARTSHORNE, *President*

NEW MEMBERS

The following new members of the Society are announced by the Membership Committee:

Institutional Members

Esso Standard Oil Company, Elizabeth

Interwoven Stocking Company, New Brunswick

Sustaining Members

Edmond L. Carey, Rumson
Clayton E. Freeman, Glen Ridge

Contributing Members

Miss Maud N. Austin, Westfield
Miss Dorothy E. Barton, Maplewod
Basking Ridge Historical Society, Basking Ridge
Mrs. Joseph A. Baxter, Cranford
Robert G. Blanchard, Trenton
Milton C. Bloodgood, South Amboy
Frederick W. Bogert, Ridgewood
F. C. C. Boyd, Ringoes
Hon. William J. Brennan, South Orange
Miss Ellamead Brent, Newark
Morris M. Brotherson, Newark
James F. Bunting, Maplewood
George A. Cane, Allwood
Henry B. Clark, Elizabeth
William H. Cole, New Brunswick
P. J. Conkwright, Princeton
George S. Covert, Toms River
David L. Cowen, Newark
Miss Violet Cresse, East Orange
Mrs. Walter A. Curry, Upper Montclair
Miss Louise J. DeNees, East Orange
John J. Drum, Bloomfield
Miss Frances V. Dwyer, Morristown
Howard Eastwood, Burlington
John Ellison, South Orange
Col. Walter Fariss, Summit
Joseph A. Fiorentino, Trenton
Mrs. H. G. Fischer, Union
Mrs. Ernest L. Fisher, New Brunswick
Norman M. Foote, Caldwell
Stephen C. Francisco, Upper Montclair
Frederick A. Frost, Irvington

Miss Lois V. Given, Moorestown
Norman J. Griffiths, Madison
Miss Elizabeth G. Gross, Arlington
Herbert G. Hartley, Short Hills
Mrs. John Harman-Ashley, West Orange
Dr. Joshua Hilliard, Manahawken
Dayton G. Hopkins, New Egypt
Thomas Roy Jones, Elizabeth
Miss Hazel C. Kargaard, Morristown
John A. Kerr, Newark
Bill Kirby, Forest Hills, N. Y.
Mrs. K. H. Klipstein, New Vernon
Miss Mary Koerner, Irvington
E. B. Laughlin, Nutley
S. Rusling Leap, Woodstown
John McCauley, Fairhaven
John McCurdy, Dover
Ernest E. McMahon, Metuchen
Sayre MacLeod, New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Lily W. Marsh, Glen Ridge
Albert E. Meder, New Brunswick
William A. Miller, Old Bridge
Miss Norma Nelson, Newark
Miss Sarah Northrop, Newark
Harold V. Nungesser, Short Hills
Frank O'Brien, Bloomfield
John W. Ockford, Ridgewood
V. Winthrop O'Hara, Upper Montclair
Philip W. Osborne, Tenafly
Dr. J. Padovano, Newark
Anthony Paluch, Newark
Prof. R. U. Pane, Highland Park
Dr. H. Carl Paul, Caldwell
Miss Mary A. Pavelka, Elizabeth
Mrs. Charles C. Phelps, Montclair
Richard E. Pille, Newark
P. L. Procter, Berkeley Heights

J. L. Stewart Reynolds, South Orange
Alfred A. Ritchie, East Orange
Miss Eleanore J. Roberts, Arlington
E. A. Robertson, Newark
S. Harrison Rollinson, Jr., West Orange
Jack Safro, Weehawken
Robert Salkin, Newark
Henry L. Savage, Princeton
Dr. Abbie Turner Scudi, Morris Plains
Lawrence B. Sexton, Florham Park
George Shifter, West Caldwell
Daniel B. Smith, Sea Girt
Karl Garthwaite Smith, South Orange
Mrs. John Spell, New York, N. Y.
Miss Anne Spindler, Newark
Joseph H. Spray, Rutherford
I. R. Stevens, Glen Ridge
Mrs. Mildred K. Taylor, Teaneck
George G. Tennant, Jr., Englewood
Herbert Thorpe, Upper Montclair
Robert James Trumbauer, Westfield
Fred C. Van Keuren, Newark
Miss Louise Velten, Rahway
Lloyd I. Volckening, Glen Ridge
Russell P. Walker, South Orange
Larry C. Ward, Princeton
William S. Weier, Verona
G. E. Wiedenmayer, South Orange
Fred I. Wilson, Sparta
Mrs. Owen Winston, Gladstone
Miss Marjorie H. Woodruff, Newark
Mrs. William L. Young, Arlington
Donald Zeek

NECROLOGY OF MEMBERS

MRS. EDITH MC DOWELL BEEKEN, of Bloomfield, wife of Axel V. Beeken, patent attorney of New York City, died at her home June 7, 1951, after an illness of two months, at the age of 75.

Long interested in the history of her home town, Mrs. Beeken was named the outstanding citizen of the town for 1948 by the Veterans of Foreign Wars for her many services to the town and specifically for her contribution as town historian of World War II records for the New Jersey War Records Commission.

Mrs. Beeken was a descendant of Thomas Davis, an original Bloomfield settler in 1670 and a member of the group of Puritans from Connecticut who founded Newark in 1666. Her great-grandfather, Joseph Davis, donated the land for Bloomfield's town green.

Mrs. Beeken was the author of a history of Bloomfield and of "My House of Treasures," describing colonial furniture and antiques in her possession. She also wrote a radio script on Gen. Joseph Bloomfield, for whom the town was named.

She also was active for a quarter of a century in the former Town Improvement Association and was a member for five years of the town's motion picture censor board. She was chairman for 12 years of the Infantile Paralysis Relief Board in Bloomfield and was a member of the Bloomfield Zoning Board for three years.

During World War I, Mrs. Beeken served on Liberty Loan, food and memorial tablet committees. In the campaign for women's suffrage she was president of the Women's Political Union in this section.

Besides her husband, Mrs. Beeken leaves a son, Valdemar Beeken of Bloomfield a daughter, Mrs. Walter Young of Princeton; a brother, Stanley McDowell of Passaic; four sisters, Mrs. N. Oliver Pierson of East Orange, Mrs. George Rogers of Camden, Mrs. Joseph Bragassa of Norfolk, Va.,

and Mrs. Walter Gould of Memphis, Tenn., and two grandchildren.

Mrs. Beeken was elected a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society March 8, 1939.

MRS. MARY MEADE BIGELOW, of Newark, wife of Moses Bigelow, died at her home March 11, 1951.

She was the daughter of the late Jacob Kline Meade and Harriet Winslow Johnson Meade. On her mother's side, she was a direct descendant of Thomas Johnson who settled in Newark in 1666.

A lifelong resident of Newark, Mrs. Bigelow was one of the oldest members of the board of the Newark Female Charitable Society. She was active also in the Women's Branch of the New Jersey Historical Society. Besides her husband, she leaves two nieces, Mrs. Winthrop Lenz of Summit and Mrs. J. Keith Stewart of Charlotteville, Va., and a nephew, William S. Bigelow of Albany, N. Y.

Mrs. Bigelow became a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society, December 11, 1946.

DR. EUGENE BOUTON, retired educator and oldest living alumnus of Yale University, died at his home in Bloomfield, March 31, 1951, after a brief illness. He had observed his one hundredth birthday on December 6.

A graduate of Yale in the class of 1875, he was supervising principal of the Glen Ridge schools from 1904 until 1910. He was clerk of the Essex County Board of Taxation from 1917 to 1941. At the time of his death, he was working on a history of his native Schoharie County, New York.

He received a master's degree from Yale and a doctorate of philosophy from Syracuse University in 1882. Before going to Glen Ridge, he had taught in Bridgeport, Conn., and Pittsfield, Mass.

Surviving also are his widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Rumrill Gladwin Bouton, whom he married sixty-three years ago three

daughters, Mrs. C. Victor Bleecker of Bloomfield, Mrs. Katherine Clay of Scotch Plains, and Mrs. William Bleecker of New York a son, Gladwin Bouton of Tenafly; ten grandchildren and thirteen great-grandchildren.

Dr. Bouton was elected a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society January 7, 1929.

CHARLES R. HARDIN, Newark attorney and civic leader, died at his home in Newark, June 14, 1951, after a long illness. He was 56 years old.

Mr. Hardin was a member of the Newark law firm of Pitney, Hardin & Ward, successor to the firm of Pitney, Hardin & Skinner of which his father, the late John R. Hardin Sr., former president of the Mutual Benefit Insurance Co., was one of the founders.

Mr. Hardin was a cotrustee of the Black-Stevenson Cancer Foundation. Last April he and his fellow trustee, Alfred S. Black, announced grants of $750,000 each to Newark Presbyterian Hospital and the Memorial Center for Cancer in New York. The gifts culminated years of work by the trustees, who sifted more than 5,000 suggestions on how the funds should be distributed.

Mr. Hardin was a member of the Essex County Park Commission. He was originally appointed to the board in December, 1945, to succeed his father and fill out the latter's unexpired term. He was reappointed for a five-year term by Chief Justice Vanderbilt on April 17, 1949.

Mr. Hardin was chairman of the Bureau of Municipal Research. He was a member of the Newark Chamber of Commerce and the American, New Jersey and Essex County bar associations. He was president of the county association in 1935.

Mr. Hardin was a director of the National Newark & Essex Banking Co. and the American Insurance Co. He was a trustee of Prospect Hill Country Day School, Newark Academy and Babies' Hospital and a former trustee of Newark Public Library.

Mr. Hardin was born in Newark December 29, 1894. He atended Summer Avenue School and Newark Academy and was graduated from Princeton University in 1915 and from Harvard Law School in 1919. He was admitted to the bar as an attorney in 1920 and as a counsellor in 1923 when he became a member of Pitney, Hardin & Skinner.

In World War II Mr. Hardin served as a first lieutenant of infantry in the Army. After the war he was active for a time in the American Legion, but withdrew because of the Newark post's stand on the soldiers' bonus, to which he was opposed.

In 1923 and 1924 Mr. Hardin was unsuccessful Democratic candidate for the Assembly. He was the party's choice for state senator from Essex in 1926 and was again defeated.

In April, 1933, Mr. Hardin was named by the state tax commissioner to investigate granting of brewery permits. He was one of the original five members of the Newark Industrial Commission, named in 1936 to develop Port Newark.

He was a member of Newark Draft Board 26 in 1940 and 1941 and for many years served as New Jersey member of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws.

Mr. Hardin's first wife, Mrs. Emma Downer Hardin, died in 1941. He married the former Mrs. Grace V. Wiss in February, 1946. He also leaves three sons, Charles R. Jr., William D. and Robert D. Hardin, and a daughter, Mrs. Sidney G. Dillon.

Mr. Hardin became a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society, June 29, 1931.

ARTHUR SKINNER MC CUTCHEON, retired Railway Express Agency employe, died at his home in Elizabeth, April 8, 1951, after an illness of ten days.

Mr. McCutcheon, a son of the late Probate Judge Isaac Dow McCutcheon and Alice Skinner McCutcheon, was born in Charlotte, Mich. His father was appointed secretary of the Territory of Montana by President Chester A. Arthur.

Mr. McCutcheon was an honor graduate of the Riverview Military Academy at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., and began his business career in June, 1896, with the American Express Company at Malone, N. Y. After holding a number of jobs with the firm, he became the agent at Ossining, N. Y., in 1904. He was transferred to Albany a year later as assistant route agent. In 1911 he was made chief clerk to the superintendent of the Albany agency. From 1912 to 1918 he was in Buffalo.

He held various positions with the Railway Express prior to 1924, when he came to Elizabeth as route agent. Mr. McCutcheon was in Orange from 1930 until 1938, when he returned to Elizabeth to head the agency here. He retired October 14, 1942.

Mr. McCutcheon was a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, Sons and Daughters of the First Settlers, of Newbury, Mass.; Radium Lodge, 844, F & A M, of Ossining, and Dobbs Ferry (N. Y.) Council, 1823, Royal Arcanum.

Surviving are his wife Mrs. Clarabelle Sterling McCutcheon, and a daughter, Miss Alice Louise McCutcheon, at home.

Mr. McCutcheon was elected a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society, January 12, 1949.

LEVI H. MORRIS, senior partner of the Newton law firm of Morris, Downing and Sherred, died at his home in Newton, May 10, 1951, after a long illness.

He was born on the Morris farm in Hampton Township, December 28, 1869, the son of Abram Shotwell Morris and Susan Almira (Howell) Morris. After reading law in the office of Theodore Simonson, he was admitted to the New Jersey bar in 1899. He married Laura Bell Snyder in 1903 and established his home in Newton where he continued to live until his death.

Mr. Morris' civic offices were many. He served for three years in the state legislature and was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco when James M. Cox was nominated for president. For many years he served

as president of the Newton Trust Company and for one year was president of the New Jersey Bankers Association. He was active in helping to form the Sussex County Historical Society and served on its board of directors. He had been president of the Board of Trustees of the Newton Presbyterian Church. He was a member of a number of state and local bar associations and historical societies and had always been particularly interested in farming and the farmers of Sussex County. He had added to his father's homestead farm and for many years carried on an extensive dairy business. He was also active in Masonic circles.

He is survived by his wife, a brother, Frank A. Morris, of Ocean Grove, and two nephews.

Mr. Morris became a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society October 27, 1920.

MRS. MARY VANDERPOOL PENNINGTON, widow of Louis Pennington and descendant of an old Newark family, died at her home in Summit, April 5, 1951, after an illness of six months. She was 80 years old.

Born in Newark, Mrs. Pennington lived many years in Washington, D.C., before moving to Summit in 1929. Her grandfather, the late Beach Vanderpool, was a mayor of Newark and a founder and first president of the Howard Savings Institution. Her father, the late Eugene V. Vanderpool, also served as president of the bank.

Two perpetual scholarship grants, in her husband's name, were established by Mrs. Pennington at Princeton University about eight years ago. Mr. Pennington died in 1936.

Surviving is a sister, Mrs. Sheppard Homans of Englewood.

Mrs. Pennington became a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society March 2, 1908 and a patron member December 6, 1915.

HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENTS

Church Bi-Centennial

The Old Tennent Church, at Tennent, New Jersey, three miles northwest of Freehold, a shrine of religion in American history because of its connection with the battle of Monmouth, celebrated its 200th anniversary from June 17 to July 1 with appropriate ceremonies, reminiscent of the church's early history. In his anniversary sermon, the pastor, Rev. Charles H. Neff, reviewed the church's history of two centuries and also that of the congregation, established in 1698. The edifice is little changed since the days of the Revolution. The pulpit, said to be the oldest in any Presbyterian church in the country, the communion table, and other articles of furniture have been in the church since its early days.

During the observances, Dr. Richard P. McCormick, president of the New Jersey Historical Society, gave an address on "The Development of Religious Freedom in New Jersey." The American Legion held its annual memorial service, commemorating the Battle of Monmouth.

Wilson C. Ely, Architect, Honored

As the only charter member still active in New Jersey Chapter, American Institute of Architects—this year observing its 50th anniversary—Wilson C. Ely, Newark architect, was feted at the Middle Atlantic District Conference of the institute held in Asbury Park in June.

Wilson Ely started in architecture with his late father in the firm of John H. and Wilson C. Ely, which concern has designed many of the more prominent buildings in the state. He is a fellow in the A. I. A., former president of the state chapter and society, and a member of the Advisory Council of the School of Architecture, Princeton University. He is a member of the board of managers of the Howard Savings Institution, a director of the National Newark & Essex Banking Co., and of the New Jersey Realty and Title Insurance Co., and trustee of the Newark Museum Associa-

tion, New Jersey Historical Society, the Eye and Ear Infirmary, the Babies Hospital and the Home for the Crippled Children, all of Newark.

The NEWARK EVENING NEWS observed the honor to Mr. Ely in an appreciative editorial under the heading

He Changed Our Town

The New Jersey Chapter of the American Institute of Architects will observe its golden anniversary at its convention in Asbury Park this week. An honored figure at the convention will be Wilson C. Ely, the only survivor of the nine charter members.

No man has had a greater influence than Mr. Ely in the changes which have transformed the appearance of downtown Newark during the last 30 years. The soaring National Newark Building at 744 Broad street, tallest in the state, sprang from his drawing board. So did the 16-story American Insurance Co. Building on Washington street, the 10-story Firemen's Insurance Building on Park place, the Mutual Benefit Building and the New Jersey Historical Society's on Broadway. Other designs by Mr. Ely were those of the city halls of Newark and East Orange and Morristown Memorial Hospital.

All are graceful structures; some are very beautiful. They comprise a life's work of which any architect would be proud. Mr. Ely deserves the tributes which will be paid him at the convention, but he would be the last man to think so, for modesty is one of his many attractive qualities.

* * *

Mr. Ely has been an active member of the Board of Trustees of the New Jersey Historical Society since 1932.

SOCIETY GIVEN AWARD OF MERIT

The New Jersey Historical Society is the recipient of an annual award by the American Association for State and Local History in recognition of the program to reactivate the Society. The award, which was the only one made to an historical

society in the Middle Atlantic Region, cited the Society for "distinctive contributions to American Local History."

In announcing the award, the association gave special credit to the Society for "realizing the desirability of further utilization of its potentialities," for having undertaken a survey of the Society, for having published the recommendations contained therein, and "for beginning immediately a program to reactivate the Society."

BRINGING HISTORY TO THE PEOPLE

Thousands of northern New Jersey residents saw for the first time original autograph signatures of the 56 signers of the Declaration of Independence when The New Jersey Historical Society lent its collection to be exhibited in the show windows of L. Bamberger & Co. in Newark on July 2nd and 3rd.

The display was unveiled by Mayor Villani of Newark at a ceremony which opened the city's three day celebration marking the 175th Anniversary of the signing of the Declaration.

The collection of the signers was bequeathed to the Society by Louis Bamberger who died in 1944. During the period the documents remained on display, they were under constant protection of a day and night Navy guard. The city of Newark cooperated by providing police escorts to transport the collection to and from the Society. State wide publicity was given the event by the Newark Citizens Committee, established by Presidential order to celebrate the anniversary.